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# JOURNAL OF THE STATISTICAL AND SOCIAL INQUIRY SOCIETY OF IRELAND.

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PART XCVI.

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PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

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## THE EXAMPLE OF BELGIUM.

### A POSSIBLE EFFECT OF THE WAR UPON IRELAND.

BY CHARLES A. STANUELL, M.A., J.P., President.

[*Read November 19, 1915*].

I must first thank the Society for the unusual honour it has conferred upon me in electing me for a third term to the office of President of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland. I value the compliment very highly.

I have already in a previous address referred to the effect of the War upon Irish Agriculture, but I propose to notice some features of the Irish problem which I think have become more apparent since last year, and to mention an example brought under our notice by the War itself, which might otherwise have escaped our attention.

Prior to the Irish Famine of 1847-8 Ireland possessed a fair proportion of tillage, but it consisted very largely of potatoes, the same crop repeated year after year, and at the end of forty or fifty years of cultivation, during which the population rose from 5,216,329 in 1801 to 8,287,848 in 1846, a blight or disease attacked the potatoes, and the crop failed completely, all over the country.

The result was that appalling calamity the Irish Famine of 1847-8, which swept away the inhabitants in hundreds and thousands. An interesting account of the measures taken to relieve the sufferers by the Society of Friends will

be found in the Transactions of the Central Relief Committee of that Society, an interesting volume published in the year 1852, to be found in our Library.

Having received such a blow from the failure of the potato crop, the people, perhaps naturally, having regard to the then recent abolition of the Corn Laws (1846), and the consequent fall in the value of grain, threw their land into grazing or pasture. Meat was wanted in Great Britain, high rents for grazing were paid with ease, and landowners and tenants alike were eager to convert tillage into grazing.

This grazing greatly decreased the area of tillage, and the absence of tillage or work drove the labourers from their homes even after the real famine had ceased.

It has been constantly asserted for the last forty years at least, that the troubles of Ireland, including the absence of tillage, were due to the tyranny of the landowners, and to nothing else, and it was argued that if the tenants had security of tenure or owned their land, they would become tillers of the soil and agriculturally prosperous.

“Landlordism is the Upas-tree of Ireland,” so said the theorists of this school, with the persuasive Prime Minister among them. This theory was at the back of all the Land Acts; the Act of 1870, the Judicial Rent system of the Act of 1881, and the Purchase Acts of 1903 and 1909.

The decrease in tillage was undoubtedly excessive, but I certainly hold that, like most projects of enthusiasts, the “Upas-tree policy” was incorrect. It attributed too much influence to a single cause. The land-owners were not the only people to blame. The public, with their attention fixed on the high rents obtained by owners of grazing lands, did not notice that the rent-paying farmers, of their own accord, had turned their tillage into grazing, and it was they, far more than the land-owners, who, by abandoning tillage, had left the labourers without work.

The “Upas-tree” policy of tracing all evil to one single cause is as old as the hills, and as inaccurate as all other epigrammatic generalisations.

The real fact was that grazing paid enormous profits in those days to the farmer. The ex-farmers, as graziers, made the greater part of the profits, and could afford to pay high for “grass,” for they had no labourers to pay. The land-owners took what was offered to them; any other class would have done the same. They were mortal men. It was the labourers who suffered from absence of work and emigrated.

It is often forgotten that there was then a great demand for labour in America, increased from 1860 to 1865 by the



great Civil War. During this period the Irish crowded to America eagerly, as to a land of promise, and they prospered there exceedingly. We are apt nowa-days to overlook this point.

Years went by, during which the new live-stock trade flourished, graziers and landowners had a time of great prosperity with the price of meat rising and rising, and then came the introduction of chilled meat from abroad. I remember it well: it started about 1877, beginning, I think, with New Zealand mutton, and increased very rapidly. Just as the wheat-growers, on the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, had to face the introduction of foreign corn, so now the cattle-interest had to face the competition of over-seas meat. Graziers found their margin of profit diminished, and very naturally raised the cry that grazing rents were too high. No doubt they were; rent is the handicap which good land allows to bad land, and varies according to circumstances, but the land-owners were not really responsible: it was the increase in the supply sent into Great Britain from distant countries which caused the fall in the value of the home grazing-lands. Modern science by producing artificial cold in the tropics, extended indefinitely the supply of fresh meat.

Meanwhile in Ireland the grazing area had increased, leaving less land for tillage; there was a scarcity of work even for the diminished number of labourers who had remained after the great emigration. The public did not pause to consider that many tenants had converted their tillage into grazing of their own accord, and they threw the blame upon the vampire land-owners, overlooking the new importation of meat from over-seas.

Then came the dreadful harvest of 1879, and a vast agitation against the land-owners who owned the lands now occupied by the graziers. There was an ordinary custom among resident land-owners of "letting the grazing" of the family demesnes right up to the hall-door, which increased the confusion as to the actual ownership of the cattle.

I quite admit that the land-owners had shared the profits of the grazing in increased rents offered to them, but this grazing system had also enriched the tenants as well. It was the pasture system which was at fault, coupled with the absence of any other form of employment. Both graziers and land-owners were sufferers themselves, victims of the cheap meat imported from abroad, which took the place of the more expensive home meat. The cry of "down with the landlords" was raised; they were a small class,



the cry was popular, and this led to the land legislation we now possess in such abounding quantity.

I also quite willingly admit the good intentions of the Government, confronted with a very difficult problem, but personally I do not see that any great change has come over what I may call the "agricultural interest," due to this immense mass of land legislation. The idea was that the fixing of rent for 15 year terms would lead to an immense development of real farming or tillage in place of universal grazing, but we have continued to witness a great development of pasture, and a proportional decrease of tillage, completely unaffected and uninfluenced by the land legislation, which was described by its enthusiastic propounders as an infallible cure for Ireland's misfortunes. So far from the legislation effecting a change, I regret to say that tillage, strictly so-called has hitherto continued to shrink, and the falling-off of the population has continued up to the present, though I believe the latter has at last ceased.

I am very anxious to treat this matter dispassionately, but I fear that the evil was not traced to the right source.

It may be well to explain here, as it affects the question, that the assertion that "the Union ruined Ireland," and caused the falling off in the population from 8,000,000 to less than 5,000,000, is altogether a mistake.

The population of Ireland in 1801, the year of the Union, was 5,216,329. From that time the population increased rapidly and continuously till it reached 8,287,846 in the year 1846, a steady rise of no less than three millions, about 60 per cent. in the forty-six years following the Union.\*

Then came, nearly fifty years after the Union, the failure of the potato crop, a matter quite unconnected with politics, and the awful Famine, but the fall in the population was due to the ravages of the famine, starvation, pestilence—in other words, to economic or physical causes, and not to politics.

The mistake is serious, because much argument and even legislation has been based on the erroneous assumption that the effect of the Union was to decrease the population of Ireland.

\* The increase in population was constant, but for brevity the decennial periods are given, as follows:—

1801,	...	...	...	5,216,329
1811,	...	...	...	5,955,466
1821,	...	...	...	6,801,827
1831,	...	...	...	7,767,401
1841,	...	...	...	8,199,453

I can now enter upon the present position of Ireland.

Professor Oldham showed us in a paper he read last year\* a table of the proportion of arable land, hay and pasture, forest, vineyard, and unproductive land, in various European countries. I give the figures in a note, so as not to delay the reading of this address. I shall refer to them later on.

Naturally, cattle, sheep and swine grazing do not require agricultural labour. There is no need for ploughing, harrowing, reaping, mowing, harvesting. One man can watch 100 cattle grazing.

The result of the falling-off in tillage has been that the Irish farmer has but little winter feeding or fattening food for his stock; he has converted his cattle trade into a live export of young cattle, etc., sending his live stock to England and Scotland to be fattened, and he alleges that it does not pay to fatten cattle, because the wages swallow up the profits.

Hence, when the war burst upon us last year, the more thoughtful of us saw at once that we should have an enormous demand for eatable stock and grain to feed our armies in the field, which would reduce the portion available for ourselves, and the Irish farmers were urged to prepare for this demand for tillage and *eatable* stock; I call attention to the word *eatable* because, speaking generally, the Irish export their cattle alive and *lean*, not fattened for food. Tillage is necessary for fattening food.

Unfortunately, any attempts made at planting root-crops or grain were very small. I know a man who took great credit for adding two statute acres of tillage in a farm of about five hundred acres. The result has been an immense rise in food-stuffs of all kinds. Cattle which had been selling for £18 and £20 have risen to £30 and more. With very few exceptions, the farmers made no preparations for an increased demand for cattle *fattened* in Ireland, and lost the chance of large profits. Indeed, I am not sure that they have not sent their cows, ewes and sows to market in

\* The following figures, except the last column, are quoted from Professor Oldham's paper on "The Incidence of Emigration on Town and Country Life in Ireland," read 12th June, 1914:—

	Danes.	Dutch.	Swiss.	French.	Irish.	Belgian.†
Arable Land, ...	42.5	27.7	16.5	52.4	11.1	48.0
Hay, Pasture, ...	28.2	34.7	35.9	11.3	64.1	16.0
Forest, ...	4.6	6.9	18.4	18.3	1.5	17.0
Vineyards, ...	0.0	0.0	0.8	3.7	0.0	0.0
Unproductive, ...	24.7	30.7	28.4	14.3	23.3	19.0

† I have added Mr. Rowntree's areas for Belgium; they were not included in Professor Oldham's figures. In the case of Belgium, and no doubt in the other cases also, the "unproductive land" includes the cities, towns, villages, lakes, rivers, railways and roads.

a rush to obtain the present prices, which were in their opinion momentary.

It remains to be seen whether the Irish will change their methods, and introduce more tillage into their farming system.

Now comes the remarkable instance to which the War has called attention, and which, so far as I know, has attracted little if any notice up to the present.

Among the nations engaged in the War is one that has been practically unknown to Ireland. I allude to the hitherto highly prosperous but now oppressed country of Belgium.

The story of the treatment of Belgium by the Germans in the face of a solemn treaty is very dreadful, but one effect of it has been to attract our attention to the unhappy land so distinguished by its bravely-borne misfortunes. I was fairly well acquainted with its history from the time when it flourished as part of Flanders during the time of our Plantagenet Kings, to its fall in the time of our Queen Elizabeth, and its subsequent misfortunes when the country was the "cock-pit of Europe," but I confess that, beyond a casual visit or two passing through it, a good many years ago, I knew very little of its manners and customs, its habits, modes of life and economic history. My interest in her misfortunes led me to inquire into her economic history, as distinguished from her political record, and it proved to be extremely interesting.

I found, very much to my astonishment, that this little kingdom, formerly Flanders, or rather a part of Flanders, which had only been created as an independent kingdom in 1831, was full of economic surprises.

I learned that it contained about 11,373 square miles, as compared with the 32,531 of Ireland, roughly only one-third of the size; that it had in 1900 almost seven millions of inhabitants, two and a half more millions than Ireland, the densest to the square mile in all Europe, for it had 589 inhabitants to the square mile, while the next in density was England and Wales with 558, Great Britain 420. As to Ireland, it had only 135 to the square mile, taking the Irish population as 4,390,219 (1911).

It may give a clearer idea of the difference between the two countries if I state that there were only as many people to the square mile in Belgium as there are in Ireland, the population of Belgium would be little more than a million and a half (1,5535,355) instead of seven millions.

I should, perhaps, add that the population of Belgium is steadily increasing. In 1876 it was 5,336,185; in 1880, 5,520,009; in 1886, 5,909,975, and in 1910, 7,516,730.

At the same time I discovered that Belgium was self-supporting, without importing food from other countries, thus differing immensely from the United Kingdom, including Ireland, and yet, notwithstanding this, the Belgians contrived to export a considerable quantity of choice fruit and vegetables into England, while they also exported to other countries all manner of products, cloth, cotton, iron-work, machinery, glass, and other manufactures too numerous to mention.

This was a complete contrast to Ireland, and it then occurred to me to try and discover where the difference lay. You will observe that Belgium was supporting 589 people to every square mile without foreign importations, while Ireland was *not* supporting 135 to the square mile, as the Irish notoriously import great quantities of bread-stuffs, though they export live stock in enormous numbers.

My first theory was that the variation in climate and soil was the cause of the difference in circumstances, but I found that except that Belgium had a certain amount of coal, in which Ireland was deficient, the climate, soil, and circumstances were not much unlike, and then I turned to the economic question, the manners and customs of the two nations, how they lived their lives, cultivated their soil, developed their resources, and practised their industries.

As I have already mentioned, the Irish have by far the greater portion of their available land in pasture and hay, sixty-four acres out of every hundred in the country, the largest proportion in all Europe. They import very much of their food stuffs, while they export the great bulk of their cattle, sheep and swine alive and *thin*—the last word is important.

Speaking generally, the Irish have very few industries and manufactures, none of them, except linen, of any distinguished importance. One can hardly call the porter and whiskey of Dublin a “manufacture” in the ordinary sense of the word, and much of the grain used in the distilleries is imported.

What is the position of Belgium?

I found, as I have already said, that the Belgians produced their own food, grew their own corn, reared and fattened their own meat, and—most important of all—utilised the so-called “offal” in numerous factories.

Really, I think it is a great pity that this contemptuous and somewhat offensive word “offal” has been allowed to creep into general talk. The word really means “waste”; the husks of corn are “milling offals” to the miller, and are sold by this name.



Unfortunately, " offal " is a term of contempt: people speak of " offal " as if it were rather a merit than otherwise to neglect it, or even to get rid of it. Radium itself was " offal " in the eyes of the miner seeking for metals; " basic slag " was " offal " in the opinion of the iron-masters, till a chemist showed that the worthless refuse of the blast furnaces was rich in the very best constituents of manure, the phosphates and nitrates.

Further, I found that the Belgians had a wonderful system of co-operation, by which the farmers bought their seed, manures, their magnificent agricultural machinery, at low prices without middle-men, thus producing their crops cheaply.

Again I discovered that so early as 1906, in addition to 2,859 miles of railway, as against 3,172 miles in Ireland, the Belgians had no less than 2,586 miles of narrow-gauge light railways, more than half of them laid on the ordinary roads of the country, thus carrying their produce to market cheaply and expeditiously. Most of us know from experience how slow and unsatisfactory a country cart is on an Irish country road.

Finally, I found that they had a system of state education in agriculture. There were " Agronomes " or special advisers in agriculture scattered over each province or county, twenty-seven chiefs for the whole country, to give free advice to the farmers as to the proper mode of cultivating different varieties of soil, or meeting some threatened difficulty, such as disease or blight. Also there was state cultivation of woods and forests, which gave four months' work in the winter to the farm labourers, just at a time when there is no farm work.

It will thus be seen that the mode of life of the Belgians differs very much from that of the Irish. They have an immense agriculture carried out in the best manner, with the best agricultural machinery, and they utilise every scrap of material. On the other hand, I greatly fear that the Irish during the long interval since 1846 have forgotten and neglected agriculture as a whole.

A proportion of only eleven acres in each hundred in tillage, as against no less than sixty-four out of each hundred in hay and pasture, cannot be easily explained away. It shows that the Irish have become, very largely, breeders and rearers of young stock of all kinds, which live on the untilled pasture of the country, and which are sent away to Great Britain to be fattened. The edible parts are there consumed as food, and the uneatable portions, the hides, horns, hoofs, hair, wool, bones, blood are converted

into leather cloth, felt, glue, candles, manure, and fifty other products. Some, for instance the leather, is kindly sold back by the Scots and English at ten times the price given for the raw hide.

I think that one great difficulty in inducing the Irish farmers to change their system is that hitherto all comparisons with their own agriculture have been with the systems practised in England and Scotland, and hence my previous remark that the unhappy prominence given to Belgium by the War, may lead the Irish to learn from her. She gives a better illustration of what can be done by new methods, energy, industry, and perseverance in a small nation than can be got from a large and powerful Empire.

I fear that in Ireland there is a settled conviction that it is hopeless to emulate Great Britain with its iron and coal, its immense trade, commerce and resources. It appears to be a forlorn hope for the Irish to try and rival her machinery, works and manufactures, with their own limited area and small population. They have a kind of conviction that England is independent of Agriculture, and that her prosperity follows from her trade, commerce and manufactures, and hence they make no effort to copy her ways.

If, however, we can show, as I think I can, that another country, much inferior in size, can support a dense population, the densest in Europe, by adopting methods differing from those hitherto used over here, it may encourage the Irish to endeavour to improve the condition of their own country by the same means which have been successful in Belgium.

These methods are :—To increase the tillage. To provide modern machinery by co-operation. To convert live cattle export into a dead fat-meat trade, and to utilise the offal in factories at home. The last will give employment to our urban populations, who are now in want of work.

In connection with this, it may be well to trace the course adopted long before by England, which led to that country's advancement. We have two sketches of it in Green's "Short History of the English People."

The first sketch deals with the period when Edward III. claimed the throne of France. The commerce of England was then limited to the export of wool, of which in those days England possessed a jealously-guarded monopoly, till the Spaniards, it is said, became possessed of a flock smuggled from England, from which came the celebrated "Merino."

This wool was eagerly sought for by the Flemings, the ancestors of the present Belgians, then the great weavers

of Europe. In connection with this, we may notice the splendid cloth-market of Ypres—"Wipers," as our soldiers call it—which has figured so unhappily in the present War.

King Edward, with the ability of his dynasty, had noticed the fact that we exported wool to Flanders, and bought back cloth from the Flemings, a few of whom had actually came over to Norwich, and at the commencement of his reign, 1327, he invited more of them to come over to England, where they settled, principally in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, the nearest counties to Flanders, and he took the immigrants under his special protection.

That was the beginning of the great English trade in cloth. It moved north gradually, probably as coal came into use, and Bradford and Leeds now represent the centre of the industry.

The next incident is also from Green's History, but two hundred years later.

The religious wars of Philip II. of Spain, who was in possession of the Netherlands, including Flanders, during the days of our Queen Elizabeth, destroyed that country, and the ruin of Antwerp at the time of its siege and capture by his General, the Duke of Parma in 1585, established the commercial supremacy of London, and a third of the merchants and manufacturers of Antwerp are said to have found refuge on the banks of the Thames. The export trade of Flanders died away as London developed into the general mart of Europe.

I am quoting, almost verbatim, from Green's "Short History of the English People."

Years, two centuries, were to pass from 1585, while Flanders was the battlefield of Europe, and it was not till sixteen years after Waterloo that Belgium, which had been allotted to Holland by the arbitrary Allies in the general peace, became independent.

The two countries, Holland and Belgium, separated in 1831, when Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg became King, but a number of questions remained unsettled; indeed, Holland declared war against Belgium in 1831—a war stopped by France and the United Kingdom—and it was only on the 19th April, 1839, that there was signed the now famous treaty, so contemptuously referred to lately as "a Scrap of Paper"—but bearing the British signature on it—guaranteeing the continuous existence of the little kingdom.

This fixes the date of modern Belgium, and it shows how comparatively quickly a country can rise, and further that it must begin by developing its resources. The first necessity is, of course, food of all kinds, not only meat, but



grain, and that demands tillage. This is the history of our own Colonies; they are not only self-governing but self-supporting, at all events in food, and in many other respects as well.

I have no intention of going at length into the system pursued by Belgium. Mr. Rowntree's book ("Land and Labour, Lessons from Belgium"), my principal source of information, fills 500 pages.

Early in the work we are introduced to the peculiar subdivision of land in Belgium. In Ireland we talk of a farm being "in a ring fence." In Belgium a farm of 35 acres may be in 20 patches; this is not an extreme case, and I cannot help thinking, with Mr. Rowntree, that the Belgian law of the compulsory division of a man's property equally among all his children at his death is a mistake. The result is a series of patches of land often very widely scattered. Another curious result is the absence of boundary fences as taking up too much room in such small divisions; boundary stones at the corners are often the only marks of divisions.

In the management of their land the Belgians use only a moderate amount of pasture. The absence of fences, just alluded to, may be a secondary and perhaps unrecognised cause of this. It would be hard to keep the corn crops safe from grazing animals. Taking the land as a whole, forty-eight acres out of every hundred are arable, sixteen are under hay or pasture, nineteen out of every hundred are "unproductive," but this includes the sites of cities, towns, villages, water, railways, roads, and the remaining seventeen of each hundred acres are under forest.

Now for Ireland. The contrast is complete. We have only eleven acres out of every hundred in tillage—the lowest proportion in all Europe, as against the Belgian forty-eight, while no less than sixty-four out of every hundred, instead of sixteen as in Belgium, are in hay and pasture, the highest proportion of pasture in all Europe.

Twenty-three acres out of every hundred in Ireland are unproductive, as against nineteen in Belgium. The cities and towns are fewer and smaller, but there is far more "land covered with water," *i.e.*, lakes. Lough Neagh alone contains 96,000 acres, over 150 square miles, and it is by no means the only one in the country, as we all know well.

This leaves only two acres out of every hundred for timber or forest, as against seventeen acres in Belgium. Ireland imports coal, and *pays for it*.

It is only fair to say that these percentages are taken

from different works, the Irish from Professor Oldham's paper and the Belgian from Mr. Rowntree's book, but I see no reason to think that they are inaccurate. For instance, the areas under tillage and forest in Belgium, large as they seem, are rather less in proportion than the areas assigned to these headings in France, which are given in Professor Oldham's figures in the note.

Continuing our survey, it would appear that the women do a good deal of the work, dairy, poultry, calf-feeding, and a certain amount of weeding and hoeing. In market gardening, which is very much practised, they clean the vegetables, make them up into bundles, take them to market and sell them. Two-thirds of the work on the farm is done by the farmers and his own family, and labourers have some advantage in being able to live in villages, going to their work by the narrow gauge railways.

I have already referred to the agricultural experts or agronomes, and the work provided in the forests during the winter, the forests which we need so much for shelter from the winds blowing in from the Atlantic. In Belgium these forests are under State control and management, and afford shelter and in some cases fuel, besides work in the four winter months, when agricultural work is at a stand-still. In fact, the Belgians use up the idle time of the agricultural labourers in this most ingenious and useful way, while we, with the wintry Atlantic storms sweeping unchecked across the country, have really far more need of forest shelter on our western coast in Connaught and Donegal, than Belgium requires against the North Sea. It would be a magnificent improvement for the country to plant belts of timber in Connaught. It would provide shelter and labour, and be a source of revenue, instead of loss and expense to the nation.

Again the Belgians, through their numerous co-operative societies, unite to get the best machinery by purchasing it by co-operation, and so spreading the cost among a number of persons. By the same system they buy the best seeds and manures—when large quantities are purchased it pays to get the seeds and manure analysed and tested. It is a remarkable fact, and worth noting, that the Belgians use more artificial manure in proportion to the size of their country than any other in the world, but they are careful to use ordinary manure as well, and they are most ingenious and careful in collecting it.

I will give some particulars of the history of this co-operative movement.

In Belgium the State in 1848 started "*Comices*," roughly "Agricultural County Councils," to assist agriculture. They were not remarkably successful in this form, but in 1886 free associations were introduced using the old officials as staff, and now there are 500 of them in Belgium, gathered into seven large federations. The largest of them, the "*Boerenbond*," or Peasants' League, has its headquarters in Louvain, which we all know now as a great religious centre, and the connection is natural, for the institution is greatly assisted by the clergy, and the parish priest is often the local secretary or accountant.

I will take this large one as a specimen.

This *Boerenbond*, founded in 1890, had in 1896, 41,701 members. Its aims were:—

1. The defence of the religious, moral and material interests of the peasants.
2. The improvement of agricultural legislation.
3. The co-operative organisation of agriculture.

In 1908 it bought 27,000 tons of chemical manure, 33,400 tons of food-stuffs for cattle, 95 tons weight of seeds, £5,000 worth of agricultural machinery. It had also 70 co-operative dairies, auditing the accounts, and did a considerable general merchant business, including purchasing 24,500 tons of food-stuffs. This is the result of organisation, which I consider is badly wanted in our agricultural system.

In 1907 there were 1,103 Agricultural Associations in the nine provinces of Belgium for improving cattle, pigs, goats, even rabbits. Those for cattle contained 17,125 members.

In Ireland, to some extent, the Board of Works and Board of Agriculture resemble the Agronomes. The former advances money for tenants' improvements, and takes care that the work, such as hay-barns, pumps, etc., is of standard quality; the latter deals with agricultural questions. Both are excellent institutions, so far as they go, and I give the Boards credit for their work, but they seem to me to have the defects of the Belgian "*Comices*" already referred to as only partially successful, and not to reach the farmers personally. All such state institutions seem to me to come to regard mainly the security for the advance and the collections of the repayment instalments—in fact, the formalities and machinery of their own offices, and to lose sight altogether of the all important question of organisation among the peasantry, which organisation, I much regret to say, is, in my judgment, sadly wanting among Irish farmers in general.

It would be flagrantly unfair to say that co-operation is unknown in Ireland. The work of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society under Sir Horace Plunkett, the pioneer of the movement, is making good progress. It numbers 1,000 societies of various kinds, with 100,000 members, and the turnover in 1913 was £3,333,189, and in 1914, £3,732,818.

I am not in a position to say how far the success of the movement is recognised. The number of members in each society seems small, but whether the 100,000 members of 1,000 societies seem large or small, it is pleasant to find this progress in co-operation, and the fact that my predecessor in the office of President of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland, the Rev. T. A. Finlay, M.A., is the Vice-President of the Irish Agricultural Society, gives it a claim upon our notice.

My reason for calling attention to him is a very simple one. In Belgium the co-operative system has the cordial and energetic support of the clergy, the parish priest is often the local accountant and representative of the co-operative society, thus supplying a local head and organiser of united efforts, the absence of which, as I have just said, I consider to be a defect among us.

The Irish peasantry know and trust their clergy, and if Father Finlay could secure their support as the Belgian clergy have given theirs, I see no reason to doubt that it would be as powerful in promoting the success of the co-operative movement in Ireland as in Belgium. I do not see why the clergy of the Irish Church should not join in the movement. We all wish to see the country prosperous and contented.

Brevity forbids me to dilate upon this very important point; it would require another paper to develop it. I pass to the next branch of my subject.

The Belgian system of Light Railways gives the means of cheap transit for the farmers and their farm produce and crops. They have no less than 2,586 miles of these lines. The gauge is, roughly, a yard (one *mètre*), the speed runs up to  $18\frac{1}{2}$  miles an hour, and the cost of construction, including the rolling stock, works out at an average of £3,755 per mile. The dividend is limited to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and any surplus over this is applied in reduction of fares and rates. The trains are run without signals, like our tramways, and more than half of them on the ordinary highways. In all Ireland, our light railways at present total up to 231 miles, not one-tenth of the Belgian mileage in a country three times the size. I admit that the density



of the Belgian population gives more chances of traffic, but the difference in tramway mileage is far greater than the difference in comparative population.

I may mention finally that, so far as I can gather, the people are extremely thrifty. As a specimen, the Savings Banks of the United Kingdom show an average of £4 16s. 5d. per head; the average in Belgium is £7 6s. 6d.

The real difference between Belgium and Ireland lies in the fact that the former practices agriculture and manufactures; in the latter, pasture predominates enormously. Two-thirds of Ireland are in hay and pasture; the Belgian proportion is one-sixth. The Belgians fatten their own stock, cattle, sheep and swine—they use the last in great numbers. They obtain the best machinery for ploughing, harrowing, reaping, and threshing by co-operative purchase, and they use up every particle of “offal” in their factories, the very point in which Ireland is so weak.

However, it would require a separate paper to deal with Belgium adequately, and, though it would be a very interesting subject, my object has merely been to draw attention to her system and its success, in the hope that Ireland will increase her tillage and factory works.

There are two points which I wish to mention in regard to this:

I have no wish to see all the grass land in Ireland suddenly broken up by farmers who know nothing whatever of tillage. That would be disastrous, the process must be gradual, a few acres at a time on each farm. We all know, or ought to know, that some land will not suit tillage, though this is comparatively rare, if there be manure, but the land cannot be suddenly changed from grass to tillage in large areas. For one thing, there are a number of seeds in pasture lands which, if the land be broken up in large quantities, would require too much weeding, and the tillage crop would be smothered for the first season.

In addition, modern labour-saving machinery is expensive in first cost, and the farmers will have to unite to purchase machinery, and each will only have the machine for a short time, and indeed they will have to experiment a little on a small scale at first.

In fact the improvement must be gradual, but the sooner it is begun the better.

The real cause of the Irish famine of 1847 was simply ignorance. The unfortunate creatures knew just enough to plant potatoes year after year, without rotation of crops or fresh seed, and without manure.

I confess that, like King Edward III., I should like to

see colonies of Belgium in this country, bringing with them their farming, forest management, trades, manufactures and industries. They would be an example in the West and South of Ireland, and they have the advantage of being of the same religion as the southern and western provinces. Example is a better teacher than tuition.

In making this suggestion, I am not original. We all know that three hundred years ago a number of French Huguenots settled in Dublin, and a modern writer, Mr. J. J. Webb, in his "*Industrial Dublin*," published in 1913, writes:—

"The Huguenots have left their mark upon Dublin in many ways. They inspired new life and vigour into many of the industries they found in existence there; they introduced a wholly new industry, the silk manufacture, which was destined to give employment to thousands in the city; many of them rose to the highest eminence in the commercial life of Dublin."

Even the names La Touche, O'Olier, Du Bedat, Arlington, D'Arcy, survive after three hundred years.

There is one point which I wish to mention, but I do it with some reluctance, as I do not wish to make it unduly prominent, although I think it is necessary to refer to it.

In the course of my life I have found a section of the people of this country, not the majority, prone to invoke "the Government" to do things for them. Even those who revile "the Government" are constantly invoking it to do work which they are perfectly competent to do better themselves, but they want to save themselves trouble.

It is by no means universal, but it prevails sufficiently to be marked. It is what a school-master would call "a tendency to shirk."

I fear this is to some extent at the back of the pasture system. The cattle grow till the time comes to fatten them, then the farmer leaves this work to the Englishman and Scot, and complains that he cannot find work in Ireland.

I allude to this defect with much reluctance, but I do not think that it would be right to pass it by and suppress any allusion to it. I fear that there is in Ireland among some of the inhabitants a "tendency to shirk."

However, my object has been to call attention to the example set by Belgium.

I am quite aware of the stereotyped reply. I shall first be informed of the singular fact that "Ireland is not Belgium." I shall then hear the other old story. I have heard it reiterated like a proverb:—"Tillage does not pay in Ireland: the wages run away with the profits."

My first answer is that the practical English and the canny Scot do not purchase our thin live stock out of benevolence for us, but because they have found that it pays them to do so. In other words, they turn a profit by it, a very considerable profit. The Irish do not directly supply any butcher in England or Scotland with meat ready for market. They meekly surrender this process and its profits to Great Britain, and rest content with the prices paid to them for their unfinished stock. That is my first reply. The second is: That old-fashioned spade husbandry may not pay, but it is different with modern farming machinery. It is idle to expect a stage-coach to compete with an express locomotive, or a Liffey ferryboat to carry the load of a Lusitania, but there is nothing to prevent us from getting an express locomotive of our own by co-operation, and that is what the Belgians have done. They have got the best methods from their agronomes or farming experts. They have obtained the best transit from their 2,586 miles of narrow gauge railways or tramways. They have acquired the best agricultural machinery by their system of co-operative purchase, and they have utilised all their waste products, which we so contemptuously term "offal," by starting factories for turning them to use. I say we want these methods, but particularly the last, as that will give work to the urban or town population, who have not work enough to keep them employed—a fact which we all feel in our poor-rates.

The War may not be an unmixed evil, terrible as it is, if it lead to a revolution in Irish farming methods.

As to the future. Before all other things we have to finish the War, but then as soon as possible we ought to turn our attention to replenishing our exhausted resources. This will take several years.

It is true that we have not had our homes destroyed, our families broken up, our factories burnt, and our lands devastated like the brave Belgians, but still our losses in lives and material have been gigantic. When the lavish expenditure of the War has ceased, and we have to replace our reserve supplies, we shall need every effort to make good our losses, and need them for years.

I believe that the true course lies along the line I have indicated, the improvement of our agriculture, co-operation, and the introduction of factories for dealing with the by-products, but I can quite understand that the change must be gradual.

Finally, I do not wish to discourage other methods, such as starting other manufactures at once. There are several



which could be commenced now—for instance, glass-making. An effort in this direction is at present being made and steps are being taken to form a company for the manufacture of sheet glass. Sand suitable for making glass has been found in the neighbourhood of Dublin, and a convenient site has been secured. The chief promoter is one of our Belgian refugees, who has been extensively engaged in the manufacture of glass in Belgium. If sufficient capital is forthcoming, I understand that a company will be started.

I am quite aware that this regeneration of Ireland is a very difficult problem, beyond my power and ability. But, after having called attention to the gallant resistance of the Belgians against the overwhelming forces of Germany, when they did their best in fighting hopeless odds—and, without knowing it, gained time for France and Britain to gather their forces—I felt that I should apply the same line of conduct to myself, and not shirk the burden.

There are many of far greater knowledge, ability and standing who are taking up the work, and who intend to carry it to victory, but that would not excuse me to myself, if I were to shrink from taking my share in the struggle. no matter how small and insignificant it may be.

## CHILD LIFE AS A NATIONAL ASSET.

BY S. SHANNON MILLIN, B.A.

[Read December 17th, 1915.]

The importance of child-life, as a National asset, has, perhaps, never in the history of the British Empire been brought into greater prominence than at the present moment, when thousands of our fellow-countrymen are perishing on the battlefield, in the prime of manhood. As an old member of the Peace Society, and one who has always regarded war as the combination of all the horrors and atrocities of which human nature is capable, I do not hesitate to say that England and her gallant Allies have never entered into a war with more justification, nor with a higher and nobler sense of duty, than in the present sanguinary strife. Would that I were twenty years younger, and physically fit to take my stand—a position which every self-respecting citizen of military age should assume at the present moment—in one of the great battle-fields of Europe, where the bravest of our countrymen are heroically fighting for the destruction of an aggressive militarism that seeks to establish its domination, regardless of every principle of honour, or generally-accepted standard of morality. But for those to whom a position in the actual fighting line is denied, there are other national duties that afford an opportunity to supplement the valorous actions of the warriors at the front, in upholding the sacred cause of civilisation. For even amid the whirlpools of war, with its attendant uncertainties and disappointments, the great social questions that deal with life are never stationary, as the underlying facts upon which they are based move onward with the ceaseless current of national life. While I am in no way desirous to under-estimate the gigantic struggle in which our country is at present engaged, or the supreme human importance to the world at large of its ultimate result, I wish to consider, for a few moments, one aspect—by no means the least important—of the great social problem that confronts our country, viz., Child-life as a National Asset.

### *Historical Sketch of the Factory System.*

In the middle of the eighteenth century cotton, as an article of commerce, was scarcely known in England; and the pioneers of what was afterwards to become the great industry of the North of England carried on their weaving

in the domestic workshop, where the apprentice and the journeyman worked side by side with the employer in his house. It was not until towards the end of the century that owing to the inventions of such men as Hargreaves, Arkwright, and others, the domestic workshop was abandoned for the large factory. Work that was formerly done only by strong muscular men could, by the then recent inventions, be accomplished by machinery attended to by children. A demand for child labour was thus created, and hordes of pauper children were drafted into Lancashire from the various workhouses throughout the country and placed in the newly-erected mills as "apprentices." These "apprentices," some only five years old, were bound to serve until they were twenty-one, and one has only to read the reports of the various Commissions to form a slight conception of the brutality of the system. Churchwardens and overseers of parishes trafficked in the lives of pauper children, who were neglected in education, morals, and health.

The earliest legislation for the protection of such children against their employer's insatiable avarice was in 1802, when there was passed "an Act for the preservation of the health and morals of apprentices and others employed in Cotton and other Mills and Cotton and other Factories" (42 Geo. III., c. 73). This Act was in reality an extension of the Elizabethan poor laws relating to parish apprentices, and applied only to cotton factories. It provided for the cleansing of such factories by two washings of quicklime yearly, and for the admission of fresh air by means of a sufficient number of windows; it prohibited apprentices being employed for more than twelve hours a day, but made no limitation as to age; and, lastly, it provided that all apprentices should be instructed in the principles of the Christian religion.

Shortly after the passing of this Act the use of steam power in cotton factories became universal, and the factories that had been erected on the banks of streams were abandoned and supplanted by others erected in large populous towns, where children could be procured in sufficient numbers and employed without being engaged as apprentices. The result was that the system of "apprenticing" pauper children died a natural death, and the employers were thus enabled to obviate the legal restrictions as to time limit, since the Act of 1802 only applied to "apprentices." In 1816 Sir Robert Peel procured a Committee of the House of Commons to examine into the expediency of a Bill to apply the provisions of the Act of

1802, not only to "apprentices," but to all children who worked in factories. Peel himself put in a paper as evidence, in which, after pointing out that children of seven, and younger, were often worked for thirteen and fourteen hours a day, says:—"Such indiscriminate and unlimited employment of the poor, consisting of a great proportion of the inhabitants of trading districts, will be attended with effects to the rising generation so serious and alarming that I cannot contemplate them without dismay; and thus that great effort of British ingenuity whereby the machinery of our manufactures has been brought to such perfection, instead of being a blessing to the nation will be converted into the bitterest curse." (Parl. Papers (1816), 397 A., p. 133.)

In 1819 it was enacted (f.n. 59 Geo. III., c. 66) that "no child shall be employed in any description of work for the spinning of cotton wool into yarn, or in any previous preparation of such wool, until he or she shall have attained the full age of nine years" (s. 1.): that no person under 16 shall be employed for more than twelve hours a day (s. 2): with 1½ hours for meals.

In 1831 the "Ten Hours' Bill" was introduced into the House of Commons, but it did not reach the Statute Book until sixteen years later (10 Vict., c. 29). The struggle over this Bill was very bitter, and is a striking illustration of how slow the State has been to recognise that a child is something more than a mere chattel, to be used for the means of accumulating wealth, regardless of the blasting effects of such ill-usage on the child. As an instance I would refer to the following, dated 25th February, 1836:—

"MEMORIAL OF MILL OWNERS AND OCCUPIERS OF MILLS,  
MASTER SPINNERS, AND MANUFACTURERS OF OLDHAM.

"Your Memorialists humbly submit that it is absolutely necessary to the carrying on of the Cotton Trade with advantage to allow the employment of children of 11 years of age for 69 hours a week. . . . Your Memorialists are favourable to a restriction of the employment of young persons under 21 years of age to 69 hours in the week."

Contrast this attitude with that of Prussia, as mentioned in a letter, dated 28th March, 1833, written by the eminent political economist, J. R. McCullagh, to Lord Ashley:—

"I would not interfere between adults and masters; but it is absurd to contend that children have the power to judge for themselves as to such a matter. I look

upon the facts disclosed in the late report as most disgraceful to the nation; and I confess that, until I read it, I could not have conceived that such enormities were committed. Perhaps you have seen the late work of M. Courin, who was sent by the French Government to report on the state of education in Germany. It is well worth your lordship's attention. In Prussia, and most other German States, *all* persons are obliged to send their children to school from the age of 7 to 13 or 14 years, and the education given to them is excellent; as much superior to anything to be had in this country as it is possible to conceive. This is the sort of interference that we ought gradually to adopt. If your Bill has any defect, it is not by the too great limitation, but by the too great extension of the hours of labour."

One of the pleasing incidents in the struggle for the rights of children against the sordid greed of their employers was the manner in which Daniel O'Connell championed the interests of childhood. Speaking in the House of Commons on 5th July, 1833, he said:—

"There ought to be no more delay. And what was it they were delaying about? It was whether a child should work more than a negro in the West Indies. When they were proposing apprenticeship for the negroes they did not dare to talk of more than ten hours' work, and now they were to debate whether a child was able to work more than a grown man. . . The principle was clear, the House was bound to protect the children. It was impossible to look to the first volume of evidence without seeing the fact: then why not legislate at once? Oh! there might be a counterbalancing evil. If a child's labour were stopped, a yard of calico might not be spun: and if a child were prevented working itself to death, a spinning jenny would be stopped for an hour. It was not denied that to a certain extent the evil complained of did not exist. There was human life on the one hand, and they were to calculate on the other how much less cotton would be made if a given number of children were not killed in the year."—(*Hansard*, Vol. 19, p. 232.)

Let us now regard the position of children in Ireland. The "Memorial of the Hibernian Philanthropic Society to the Select Committee of the House of Commons for the Relief and Employment of the Poor in Ireland," which is dated 1st July, 1823, and signed by Lord Cloncurry as Chairman, states:—

"In the city of Dublin, 220,000 souls, we see a large



proportion of the youth rising up under our view who have no means of gaining a livelihood, save by thieving and prostitution. In every labour and handicraft occupation there is a large surplus of hands, the decay of business having had a double operation, to drive the adult out of occupation and to prevent the youth from being taken as apprentices. It is true that our city abounds in charitable institutions, where destitute children are reared in vast numbers; but it is not necessary to remind an enlightened Committee of the House of Commons that the certain result of all such establishments when adequate means cannot be provided for their employment, when the children shall have arrived at maturity, is but still further to add to the pauper population, already so overwhelming: the finer feelings of our nature are then converted into the means of aggravating the evils under which the country suffers."

In 1840 a Select Committee of the House of Commons took evidence on Mills and Factories, and the Superintendent of Factories, Mr. J. P. Hudson, said:—

"In Ireland there are 95 mill owners and 110 factories. There are 24 Cotton Factories, 40 Flax, 31 Woollen; the latter principally in the South; employing 15,000 hands of all ages, of which only 161 are under 13, and these are employed in 8 mills. There are 7,000 between 13 and 18." (Par. 5516.)

"I should say in factories like Mr. Mulholland's at Belfast (now the York Street Flax Spinning Co., Ltd.), the largest factory of the kind in the world, where 700 or 800 workers are employed, there are not more than six or seven children who would not at once be pronounced on view to be above 13." (Par. 5587.)

This view was borne out by Lord Ashley, who stated on introducing the first reading of the Calico Print Works Bill (8-9 Vic., c. 29), on 18th February, 1845:—

"In Ireland the system presents, as I have shown, a remarkable contrast to the state of things in England, displaying as it does a remarkable care for children of tender years. . . . There are instances in Ireland of children beginning to work at six; but," says the Sub-Commissioner, "out of 833 persons visited, only 109 were under 13 years of age." (*Hansard* (1845), p. 641.)

Contrast that state of affairs with the evidence as shown in the "Second Report of Children's Employment Commission, having reference to the Condition of Juvenile

Labourers in various Branches of Industry not affected by the Factory Acts,"\* where it was proved that in many trades children began to work at 7, 6, 5, and even 4 years of age, and that the average day's work was from 10 to 12 hours.

### *Social Legislation.*

In the foregoing sketch I have not attempted anything like an exhaustive legal treatise on the Factory Acts, as such would be entirely outside the scope of my subject. I have, however, referred to the Factory System at some length, because it affords a striking illustration of how ruthlessly child-life has been sacrificed in the interests of commercial development; and because, as I shall show later, the same arguments as were then used are now being advanced against urgent present-day reforms, such as Street Trading.

The past quarter of a century has been marked by a very decided advance in the cause of social legislation. The old principle upon which our laws were mainly based, of safeguarding the rights of the strong, has been supplanted by the more benevolent, and I would venture to say, from a national standpoint, the more economic principle of protecting the weak. Under the former, the criminality of the child was regarded, both in kind and degree, with the same severity as that of the adult. Under the latter we have the fruits of principles founded on common humanity and justice, viz., Factory Acts, Mines Regulation Acts, Industrial School Acts, Youthful Offenders Acts, Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act, culminating in that great charter of the helpless, the Children's Act, 1908—all of which recognise, to some extent at least, that the child is deserving of protection from the State.

But while the Legislature has done much to improve the legal status of child life, the mode of administering those laws has been most unsatisfactory. One has only to walk through any of our large towns and villages, with an observant eye, to see the ingenious contrivances to override and defeat the intentions of the legislature. The loathsome filth of our slum dwellings, with its inevitable immorality and festering disease, is but the outcome of the insatiable greed of their owners, who, if not altogether with the connivance of the sanitary officers, at least by want of their proper surveillance, defy the provisions of the Public Health Acts. Again, the dreadful scourge of intemperance, too often the result of violations of the

\* Parl. Paper, 1843, xiii., xiv., xv.



Licensing Laws, acts and re-acts in a thousandfold manner on child-life, with the result, in many cases, that ere the child attains the age of manhood or womanhood its nervous system has been shattered by the fetid atmosphere of its daily surroundings.

I have no sympathy with either the sentimentalist who avoids facts because they are unpleasant, or the sluggard who hates changes for the public good because they might interfere with his ease. In the great national crisis through which we are passing we are faced with the necessity of men and women to carry on the cause of civilisation, for which the British Empire stands. At such a time, above all others, we must avoid a continued "slaughter of the innocents," as every human life is of national importance. Even the child in rags—a mere social outcast—may be employed in the conquest of the ideal, provided it receives the necessary moral and educational training.

### *Infant Mortality*

The statistics of infant mortality—the importance of which cannot be over-estimated—make one shudder at the loss to the nation of prospective wealth-producers, through causes which, if not wholly, are to a very large extent preventible. Speaking broadly, one baby out of every eleven born in Ireland in 1914 died within the year of its birth; in England one out of every ten; and in Scotland one out of every nine.

But while Ireland as a whole compares favourably with England and Scotland, we must not overlook the fact that Dublin and Belfast compare very unfavourably with other largely populated districts, as may be seen from the following Table:—

Deaths of Infants under Twelve Months to  
every 1,000 Births.

	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.	1912.	1913.	1914.
Dublin	143	146	156	146	141	142	156	140	153	145
Belfast	136	144	136	147	139	143	128	129	144	143
London	130	131	116	113	108	103	128	90	105	104
Liverpool	153	172	144	141	144	140	154	125	131	139
Edinburgh	133	118	127	122	110	111	118	113	101	110
Glasgow	131	131	130	137	133	121	139	124	129	133

In the year 1914 there were 9,352 births in the County Borough of Dublin, and of that number 1,455 children died under the age of 12 months; in the County Borough of Belfast, during the same year, there were 11,149 births, and 1,571 deaths of children under 12 months. In other words, during the past year out of every thirteen children born in Dublin, and two out of every fourteen born in Belfast, died under the age of 12 months.

But dealing with Ireland as a whole, we find the death rate of infants in the "civic" unions—*i.e.*, the 27 towns having a minimum population of 10,000 according to the Census of 1911—is very much greater than in the rural districts.

Deaths of Infants under Three Months to every 1,000  
Births registered in Ireland.

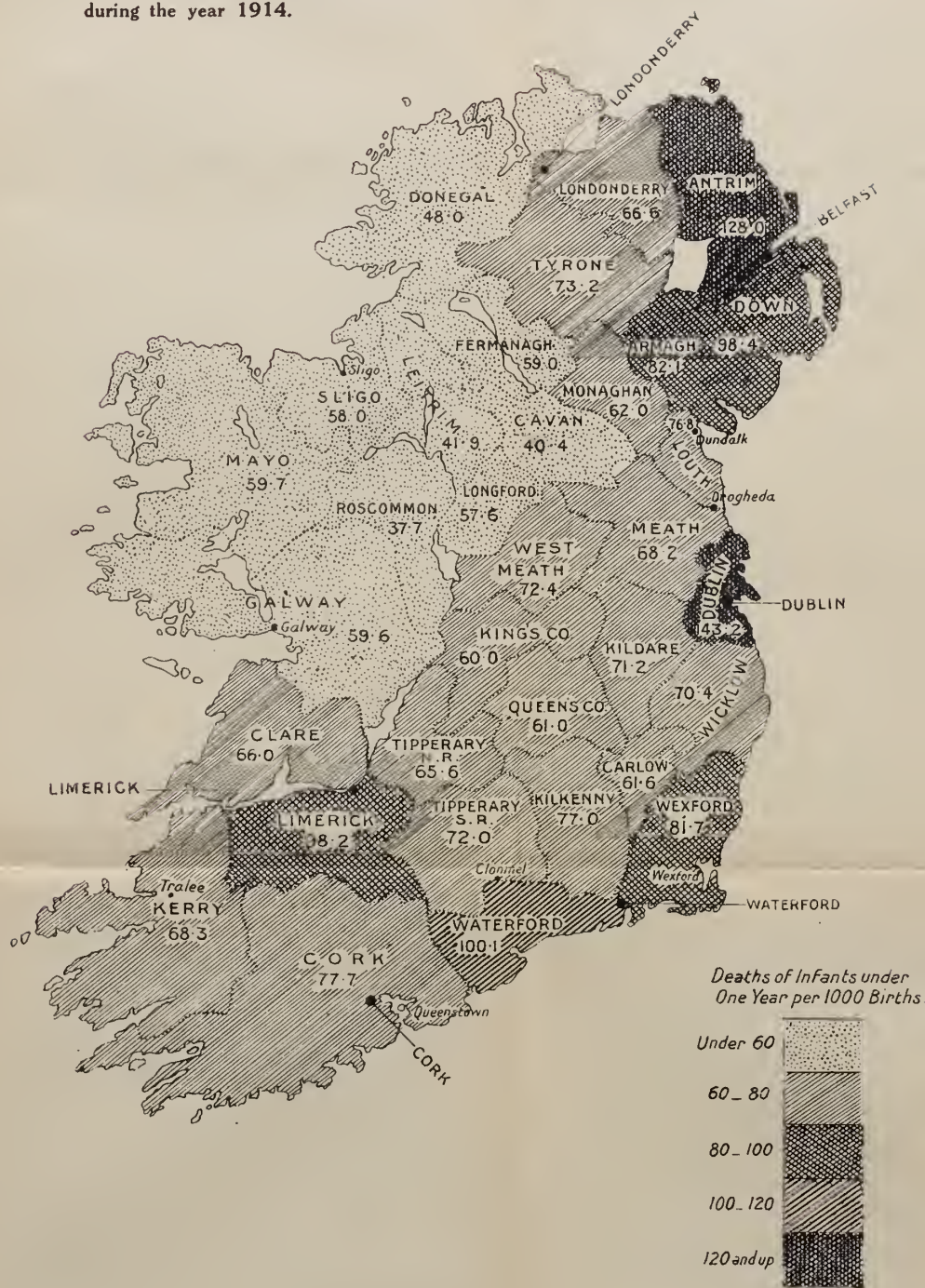
Years.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.	1912.	1913.	1914.
"Civic" Unions.	64·8	68·8	68·1	65·3	68·6	63·2	70·2	65·1
Remainder of Ireland.	45·6	47·7	44·2	46·7	44·9	43·3	48·2	41·9
Total of Ireland.	53·3	56·2	53·7	54·2	54·4	51·4	57·4	51·4

The Notification of Births Act, 7 Edw. VII., c. 40, is an adoptive Act, or in other words, its operation comes into effect in the area of any local authority which shall by resolution adopt it. In Ireland the Act is in operation only in Dublin and Belfast. In both those areas the death rate of infants under 12 months per 1,000 births was higher in 1914 than in 1905, when the Act was not in existence; and although there was a decrease of such deaths in 1914, as compared with the immediately preceding year, it should not be overlooked that 1913 was marked with one of the highest death rates, not only in Dublin and Belfast, but throughout Ireland, within the past ten years. In saying this, I have no desire to underestimate the importance of the Act, or to minimise the valuable services rendered by both official and voluntary workers, but speaking as a non-medical, I think that the high rate of infant mortality in Dublin lies deeper than any remedy that voluntary societies can supply. Antenatal hygiene must of necessity have a powerful influence on the health of the offspring. The high rate of infant mortality in Dublin, which has the unenviable reputation of having the highest infant death rate of largely popu-

MAP

# INFANT MORTALITY.

MAP.—Showing the number of Deaths of INFANTS  
UNDER ONE YEAR OF AGE per 1,000  
Births registered in each County in Ireland  
during the year 1914.



Reproduced from the 51st Annual Report of the Registrar-General for  
Ireland (cd. 7991), 1915.

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lated centres in the United Kingdom, is the immediate outcome of its filthy slum dwellings, its drunkenness, and its immorality—the last of which is the inevitable result of the combination of overcrowded dwellings and alcohol.

By the Notification of Births (Extension) Act, 1915 (5-6 Geo. V., c. 64), it becomes compulsory in Ireland to give notice of a birth, after 1st September, 1915, in every area, other than a “rural district,” so that whereas under the principal Act of 1907, only Dublin and Belfast had adopted its provisions, the notification of births is now compulsory in the 27 civic unions mentioned above.

Closely allied to the question of infant mortality is that of

### *Baby Farming.*

I have already pointed out to this Society the abuses of “one of the most gigantic baby-farming, nursing, boarding-out, and apprenticing institutions that these countries have ever seen,” viz., the Foundling Hospital, which was established in Dublin in 1783. (*Journal*, vol. xiii., part xciv., p. 130).

Out of 17,786 children admitted in the six years ended 24th June, 1796, 9,786 died, and 2,847 were unaccounted for; while the total Parliamentary grants during the 20 years ended 31st December, 1820, amounted to £787,682, or an average annual grant of £26,000. Such an extensive prostitution of charity is almost inconceivable at the present moment.

But although the curse of baby-farming is not carried on so extensively at present, there are still many glaring cases of injustice to the children. Only the other day it transpired in the North Dublin Union that three children were entrusted to a woman who was in actual receipt of relief from the Union.

Contrast that action of the Poor Law Authorities with the Report (1905) of a Lady Inspector—one who is well competent to speak with authority on the subject—appointed by the Local Government Board.

“The responsibility which therefore rests on every Board of Guardians by whom pauper children are boarded out is grave, and often, I fear, it is not fully realised. On the judicious placing of the children in suitable homes depends the future of every one of them, whether they are to count as useful citizens or as failures, and perhaps a danger to their neighbours.

“The selection of the foster-parents, the uprightness of their moral character, their capacity for training a child, are matters worthy of the most careful considera-



tion of the Guardians, and in exercising their choice all personal feeling, even of sympathy for individual foster-parents, should give way to the one essential point—that of securing the child's good, moral and physical, present and future. . . . The pity is that oftentimes . . . children are placed in dangerous surroundings and are permitted to be brought up by persons to whom no right-thinking parent would for a moment trust his child. The result is that not only is nothing of good effected, but the same unhappy story of wretchedness, pauperism, and crime is repeated, generation after generation." (1905, Cd. 2655, p. 477).

But while it is the duty of the State, on purely national, if not on higher ethical grounds, to protect infant life against the ruthless hand of death, it is undoubtedly in the interests of the community at large that *all* children should receive such a training and education as would enable them to become, at least, self-dependent. That leads us to the important question of

#### *Dublin Street Trading.*

The earliest Act to deal with children trading in the street was the Prevention of Cruelty to Children Act, 1889 (f.n. 52 and 53 Vict., c. 44). The provisions of that Act, however, did not apply to the street trader personally, but only imposed penalties on the parent, or other person *in loco parentis*, who caused any child (*i.e.*, a boy under 14 or a girl under 16) to be in any street for the purpose of begging, or getting alms within certain hours therein prescribed, which were enlarged in 1894 to the hours between 9 p.m. and 6 a.m., during which time trading by children was prohibited. It was not until 1903 that the juvenile street trader was dealt with personally, and the Employment of Children Act, 1903, provides that a child under 11 shall be prohibited from street trading, while children under 16 are subject to such bye laws regulating street trading as the local authorities may make, subject to confirmation. Dublin was one of the earliest local authorities to frame bye-laws under the Act of 1903, and those bye-laws came into force on 1st January, 1904. As a system of bye-laws they are framed with the utmost regard to the moral and physical welfare of the juvenile traders, and they show an apparent desire to grapple with a social evil. But when we examine the administration of those carefully prepared bye-laws, we find that some of the most important have either been entirely ignored, or never enforced. Sir Frederick Cullinan, C.B., Chairman of the Vice-

Regal Commission of 1902, has publicly described them as "a melancholy failure." For a more minute examination of the failure of those bye-laws, I would refer to a paper read before this Society by Sir J. R. O'Connell, M.A., LL.D., on 28th April, 1911 ("The Juvenile Street Trader and the State." *Journal*, vol. xii., part xci., p. 489).

Let me draw your attention to the Majority Report of the Departmental Committee appointed "To inquire into the operation of the Employment of Children Act, 1903," dated 30th April, 1910.

"The effect of street trading upon the character of those who engage in it is only too frequently disastrous. The youthful street trader is exposed to many of the worst of moral risks; he associates with, and acquires the habits of the frequenters of the kerbstone and the gutter. If a match seller, he is likely to become a beggar; if a newspaper seller, a gambler. The evidence before us was extraordinarily strong as to the extent to which betting prevails among the boy vendors of evening papers. . . . There can be no doubt that large numbers of those who were once street traders drift into vagrancy and crime. Chief Constables testified that street trading is the most fruitful apprenticeship to evil courses. . . . The period between 14 and 16 is a critical time in a boy's life. Street trading provides him with no training: he gets no discipline, he is not occupied the whole of his time: for a few years he makes more money, and makes it more easily than in an office or a workshop, and he is exposed to a variety of actively evil influences. . . . So far as girls are concerned, there must be added to the above evils an unquestionable danger to morals in the narrower sense. The evidence presented to us on this point was unanimous and most emphatic. An occupation entailing such perils is indisputably unfit for girls."

The only apparent reason which has any semblance of justification for the continuance of the present system is the vast amount of poverty in the slums of Irish towns which may be diminished by the earnings of children engaged in street trading. But it is a short-sighted policy, from a national standpoint, which sanctions the use of children to their own detriment for work which can be done by other means. The social conditions which are responsible for the existence of street trading must be recognised as a blot upon our civilisation. The idle, vicious, and drunken parents who utilise their children as wage-earning instruments, utterly regardless of the baneful

effects on the life of the child in after years, are deserving of no leniency, for, as the Right Hon. Herbert Samuel, M.P., said, "Both humanity and policy required that the neglected child should be rescued from the bad home."

A few years ago (March, 1911), Lord Shaftesbury introduced a Bill in the House of Lords which proposed to repeal section 2 of the Children Act, 1903, conferring powers on the local authority to make bye-laws with respect to street trading, and to substitute therefor an absolute statutory prohibition of all street trading by boys under 17 and girls under 18; and it also proposed to substitute the Board of Education for the Secretary of State as the controlling authority; and provided further that sec. 5, sub-sec. 3, of the Principal Act should be amended by providing that "any person under the age of 16 contravening the provisions of any bye-laws as to street-trading may be sent to a certified Reformatory School."

That measure was dropped because, as in all other great social problems, the vested interests resisted any such attempt at reform. It is the old, old cry of the slave owners who objected to an interference with the sacred (?) rights of property, and of the Manufacturers of Oldham, to which I have referred, who wished to employ children of 11 for 69 hours a week, on the grounds that it was "absolutely necessary to the carrying on of the Cotton Trade." But slavery was abolished on the grounds of humanity, and the cruelty of employing children of 11 for 69 hours a week has long since been prohibited. The claims of the juvenile street trader, as set out in Lord Shaftesbury's Bill, are not only based on humanity, but the interests of the community demand that children should be protected against a system which is "the most fruitful apprenticeship of evil courses."

Take again the manner in which the Education Acts, as affected by the Factory Acts, are administered in the

### *Belfast Schools.*

In the 72nd Report of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, for the year 1905, there appears the following (Cd. 3154):—

"We were informed that the overcrowded state of some of the schools in Belfast is so aggravated as seriously to endanger the health of the pupils and teachers," p. 16.

"The school buildings on the County Down side of the Lagan are the most unsatisfactory of all. In this quarter of the city, known as Ballymacarrett, the popu-

lation has increased rapidly within recent years, with the result that most of the schools are congested. The condition of affairs in some of these schools is almost incredible."

"Two days ago, for example, I visited a school and found 401 present, though there is proper accommodation for only 209."

"The average daily attendance at this school was 329 for the year ended 31st December, 1904. But much worse remains to be told. I found 78 infants in a room 19 feet by  $9\frac{1}{2}$  feet; 64 First Standard pupils in a room 14 feet by  $9\frac{1}{2}$  feet (with one window admitting of being opened), and 33 First Standard pupils in a room of  $13\frac{1}{4}$  feet by 10 feet. Surely 'disgraceful' is at best a mild adjective to describe this condition of things, which loudly calls for attention."

"The congestion is so great that lavatories, cloak-rooms, halls and passages are utilised for class purposes," p. 16.

Six years later the Commissioners report for the year 1910 as follows (Appendix to 77th Report—Cd. 6042):—

"The provision made for the education of the children in Ballymacarrett is exceedingly scant and inadequate . . . the schools are too few, and many of them are overcrowded, so that children are repeatedly refused admission to them, and are forced to grow up in idleness, and destitute of the merest elements of learning. . . . This deficiency is of long standing, and is growing with the growth of Ballymacarrett; and in the meantime one sees no prospect of any remedy. . . . There is something amiss with a place which abounds in industrial works, and maintains a teeming population, but is unwilling or reluctant to provide the means of giving every child within its bounds the opportunity of learning to read and write," p. 56.

In the Appendix to 78th Report, for 1911 (Cd. 7061), there appears:—

"Almost 40 per cent. of the city schools have no playground; 16 per cent. or 17 per cent. have fair playground accommodation: the others have good playgrounds," p. 100.

"The average on the rolls of the city schools for 1911 was 64,654, the average attendance being 49,710. This makes a difference of about 15,000. . . I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that there are, on an average, at least 17,000 children of school-age who are absent each day. . . . One of the reasons advanced in favour

of the 'half-time' system is that its abolition would reduce many families to destitution," p. 102.

The last Report published, for the year 1913, says of Belfast (2) Circuit:—

"It may be of interest to give details of a few of the worst schools. One of them has accommodation for 80. Whereas the average attendance was 100. There are two classrooms, each 11 ft. 8 in. by 9 ft. 3 in., there being only one window in each. In one of these rooms I found 29 pupils, and in the other 33. Neither of the rooms is heated, and during very cold weather in last winter the teacher had to put all the pupils into the schoolroom, which is heated only by a gas stove. Rarely have I seen such dirty floors and galleries as I saw in this school. In fact, they were swept only on alternate days. Another school has accommodation for 70, but 104 were present. I found 43 pupils in a room 12 ft. 11 in. by 11 ft. 9 in. This room has a sloping corrugated iron roof, one end of which is only a few feet from the floor. I make bold to say that a County Down farmer would not think it too good for a fowl house. There is no means of heating it, and on visiting it one very cold day I advised the teachers to keep out of it. There is a somewhat similar room in the same building, but it was supposed to be heated by an oil lamp which mocked all heat," p. 62.

"In another school there are two small rooms, one of which was heated by an oil stove. The other had no heating apparatus, but the teacher informed me that they got heat through the wall of an adjoining dwelling-house," p. 63. (Cd. 7966.)

#### *Day Industrial Schools.*

Day Industrial Schools are defined by section 16 of the Elementary Education Act, 1876\* (f.n.), to be schools "in which industrial training, elementary education, and one or more meals a day, but not lodging, are provided for the children." The Children Act of 1908 (f.n., 8 Edw. VII., c. 67), gave, for the first time, facilities for the creation of such schools in Ireland, by giving to the State and the local authorities power to contribute to the maintenance of children in such schools. In the year 1909 the Philanthropic Reform Association approached the Dublin Corporation with a view to the establishment of such schools, and it was not until five years later (1914) that the Corporation passed a resolution adopting the Report of the

\* 39 & 40 Vic., c. 79.



Estates and Finance Committee, which recommended the payment of 2s. per head per week towards the maintenance of children in Day Industrial Schools. Unfortunately, when an ardent expectation was entertained that this much desired and worthy object was about to be consummated, those convulsions of Europe took place which diverted public attention to the pursuits of arms and of war.

Although the time may be inopportune to press the matter further at present, the object of these schools should not be lost sight of. Mr. T. Humphreys, Governor of the Day Industrial School, Drury Lane, London, says:—

“ The children sent to a Day Industrial School are mainly the neglected, the dirty, the truant and disorderly—children for whom the ordinary school has no attraction, whose parents do not try, or try in vain, to make them attend, and who when they do attend are generally extremely backward and inattentive, and and whilst keeping back the class in which they are, do not themselves make any progress, nor do they fit at all into the school system. . . . The education and training received at a Day Industrial School is adapted and elaborated so as to reach the dull and backward, the children below the average, the children different from the average, and every sort of child in danger of being left out of, or wriggling through the net of any ordinary scheme of education.”

### *Juvenile Crime.*

It will not be necessary for me to enter on this branch of the question, after the very able and exhaustive Presidential Address which was delivered to this Society by Lord Chief Justice Cherry on 24th January, 1911 (f.n., “ Juvenile Crime and its Prevention.” *Journal*, vol. 22, part xci., p. 435). I shall, however, take the liberty of making one quotation from that Address, which, coming from so distinguished a jurist, cannot be too often repeated:—

“ I am firmly convinced that if we could get rid of juvenile crime, as by a proper treatment of the criminals I am equally convinced we can do, we should rid society once and for all of that hideous pest, the habitual criminal.”

Let us hope that the eminent writer of these words may live to see their full realisation.

*Conclusion.*

May we not safely ask ourselves with Tennyson :

“ Is it well that, while we range with science, glorying in  
the time,  
City children soak and blacken soul and sense in city  
slime?”

To such a question there can be only one answer : “ It is not well.” How then are we to rectify this existing evil? Not, I believe, by fresh legislation, but by a more rigid enforcement and observance of the laws that are in force. It is now over half a century since Victor Hugo wrote in “ *Les Miserables* ” : “ *Tous les crimes de l'homme commencent au vagabondage de l'infant.*” To-day our streets are filled with vagrant and beggar children who openly set at defiance the laws that have been enacted for the protection of society from these pests. If those charitably inclined people who encourage begging in the streets, by giving an odd copper to a poorly clad child, would only realise the truth contained in Victor Hugo's words, much mischief might be averted. The charitable institutions in which our city abounds have ample means of ascertaining the truly deserving poor, and too often the street beggar does not come within that category. Money given indiscriminately in the streets would be much better devoted to the service of the poor if handed over to the Children's Clothing Society (Police Aided), or the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children, both of which, I am glad to say, are conducted on strictly non-sectarian lines.

To assume the mantle of the prophet is at all times dangerous, and I have no desire to incur such risk. But there is one outstanding fact of the present war which gives us a ray of hope for the future, and that is the noble and self-sacrificing part which is being played by women. Let us take courage, and give women a more important part in the administration of the laws relating to child life, and it will rebound with untold blessings on the community. By such a course, I believe, we shall minimise the manufacture of criminals and paupers and direct the children of the slums into channels of usefulness, and thereby add very considerably to the nation's wealth.

## BRITISH FINANCE OF THE WAR.

By PROFESSOR C. H. OLDHAM.

[Read Friday, February 4th, 1916.]

When this war began at midnight on August 4th, 1914, Parliament had just passed (July 31st) the Finance Act which gave effect to the Budget introduced on May 4th. The estimate for that pre-war Budget for 1914-15 was—Revenue, £207,146,000; Expenditure, £207,021,000. This expenditure included £28,885,000 for the Army, £51,550,000 for the Navy, and £23,500,000 for the National Debt Services.

The amount of the National Debt at this juncture may also be mentioned. What is called "*the dead weight of the Debt*" means the liabilities which must be met (viz., Funded Debt, Terminable Annuities taken at their capital values, and Unfunded or Floating Debt) as distinguished from certain other liabilities which are contingent only. Now on March 31, 1914, this Dead Weight Debt stood at £651,270,091. It had fallen to this figure from £770,778,762 on March 31, 1904, by the steady application of the Old and the New Sinking Funds. Adding Other Capital Liabilities amounting to £56,384,019 and we get a total of £707,654,110 as the Aggregate Gross Liabilities of the State when this war started. The Assets (Suez Canal Shares, Exchequer Balances, etc.) held against this total liability were valued at £48,714,097.

When the war began Parliament promptly sanctioned great enlargements of expenditure. Additions to the Regular Army were sanctioned on August 6th of 500,000, on September 10th of another 500,000, and on November 16th of another 1,000,000 men. By the end of October 1,200,000 recruits were under training. The Navy had been mobilised in July for inspection by the King at Spithead, and was kept at sea. By August 16th the first British Expeditionary Force had been landed in France. On November 15th, 1914, the Government proposed their scheme for a liberal advance in the grant of separation allowances and pensions hitherto prevailing. Calculating on an army of 2,000,000 men, on a war of two years' duration, and on a mortality of 20 per cent. it was estimated that the total cost of these increased pensions would be £202,000,000.

Apart from the actual prosecution of the war, the Government dealt boldly and promptly with the very grave emergency crisis in finance which, on the outbreak of war, had dislocated the remittance machinery of international

commerce. I have written a full history of the successful handling of this emergency crisis, in a paper which was published in the "Journal of the Institute of Bankers in Ireland" for January, 1915; from its origin on July 29th (when the Jobbers on the London Stock Exchange refused to quote Prices) down to the re-opening of the Stock Exchange subject to Treasury restrictions on January 4th, 1915. Hence I do not go into details about it now; except to point out the financial obligations that were assumed by the Imperial Government, under the revised scheme of September 4th, by which the Bank of England was secured against loss if it "*provided where required acceptors with the funds to pay off all approved pre-moratorium bills at maturity.*" The astounding boldness of this transaction is probably the most remarkable thing in the history of public finance. It saved this country, and the whole fabric of the international trade, from economic strangulation—"international trade was at a standstill. *We were as completely isolated for the moment as if we had an alien fleet round our shores.*" (Mr. Lloyd George, in the House of Commons, on November 27th, 1914). To show the money-cost of this transaction, I here quote a passage from my paper above mentioned:—What has been the extent of the liabilities thus undertaken by the Government in order to lift these pre-moratorium bills out of the way of the resumption of remittances? In his speech on November 27th Mr. Lloyd George stated that the amount of bills of exchange with British signatures, outstanding at the outbreak of war, was between £350,000,000 and £500,000,000. Most of them had been met in the ordinary way. On November 27th the Bank of England had already discounted £120,000,000, of which £12,500,000 had not then arrived at maturity; and the total to be set aside "in cold storage" to await the end of the war was estimated at about £50,000,000, being largely German and Russian. This phrase "cold storage," means that the Bank of England undertook not to claim repayments of any amounts not recovered by the acceptors from their clients for a period of one year after the war. But Mr. McKenna, in his War Loan speech of June 21st, 1915, has since told us that "this liability was already well under £50,000,000," and that (without waiting for the end of the war) "in August, 1915, the Government proposed to take over the liability by repaying to the Bank the amount lent by the Bank on bills." I can only briefly mention the other directions in which the Imperial Government undertook obligations in order to restart commercial operations: such as (1) the issue of Treasury Currency Notes for £1 and 10s, authorised by the Act passed on



August 6th, 1914; (2) the State scheme for Marine Insurance, started in August (see Cd. 7560, of 1914); (3) the Foreign Trade Debts Committee, under a Treasury Minute of November 6th, which from November 17th was empowered to make advances in relief of Export Traders whose debts abroad could not be collected owing to the war; (4) the assistance given, through a Committee of the Liverpool Cotton Exchange, to enable merchants to re-open that Exchange for unrestricted dealings as from Monday, November 16th (see *Manchester Guardian*); (5) the Government Stock Exchange Loan Scheme, published October 31st, 1914, which facilitated the re-opening of the London Stock Exchange from Monday, January 4th, 1915; in return for which *the Treasury assumed the power to impose restrictions* on the business to be done. This unprecedented, and probably unconstitutional, proceeding may be studied in the *Economist* dated January 2nd, 1915; (6) action taken by the Government, in various ways, to safeguard the Food Supplies; such as the fixing of prices from August 6th, and the Government Monopoly of Sugar Supplies after September 11th. For incurring all this expenditure, quite incalculable in its nature, in order to deal with the business deadlock due to the war, the Treasury had to obtain legislative sanction; and this was effected by a short Act of Parliament called the Government War Obligations Act, 1914, one of the most extraordinary measures ever accepted by Parliament for the *carte blanche* which it bestowed upon the Treasury in the spending of public money.

From this condensed summary it will be apparent that the burden thrown upon British Finance by the outbreak of the war was very much larger and more complicated than merely providing for military and naval requirements. Parliament gave authority to the Government for making expenditure beyond what the Budget had granted by various Votes of Credit, passed on the motion of the Prime Minister, viz.:—On August 8th, 1914, for £100,000,000; on November 16th, 1914, for £225,000,000; and on March 1st, 1914, for £37,000,000—completing a total of £362,000,000 for the financial year ending March 31st, 1915. The Army and Navy was stated as requiring £275,000,000 out of this total in addition to the sums voted on their behalf in the pre-War Budget for 1914-15. “Our machinery in this matter,” said Mr. Asquith on November 16th, 1914, “which is well settled by precedent and usage, is that when Votes of Credit of this kind are taken the practice has been to use first the ordinary grants made by Parliament, so far as they suffice, and only to fall back upon the issues of Votes of Credit when these normal grants



have been exhausted. Ultimately when the accounts of the year are made up the sums chargeable against the Vote of Credit ought and will reveal, and at any rate approximately represent, the extra expenditure due to the war." Of course a Vote of Credit is merely a limit sanctioned for expenditure; it does not find the money. We have now to see how the money was raised to pay all this expenditure.

The pre-war Budget held the field, and Parliament took no steps to provide money, until November 17th, 1914, when the war had already lasted 104 days. During that period, the Revenue from the pre-War Budget had been supplemented to a total amount of £90,000,000, by the system of borrowing on short loans called Treasury Bills. This system of borrowing in anticipation of revenue is very convenient; it has been so largely resorted to during this war that I pause here to notice the change of practice which was introduced on April 14th, 1915. The old plan before that date was that the Treasury from time to time invited tenders for several lots of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  or 15 millions sterling. £1,000 is the least amount that can be offered. The public in the tenders stated the price at which the money would be lent for periods of 6 or 12 months. The superabundance of funds in the market, especially after the discounting of the pre-moratorium bills when new bills were still scarce, enable such Treasury Bills to be placed at low rates. In the last part of 1914 they were issued at varying percentages up to £3 16s 3d. Between February 23rd and April 13th, 1915, the Government were able to borrow £65,000,000 on Treasury Bills for periods of 6 and 12 months at rates never ranging above £3 14s. 4d. per cent. The new practice adopted after April 13th, 1915, is that by which the Bank of England now sells every day "over the counter" Treasury Bills up to any amount at stated rates fixed by the Bank of England. The rates first stated were  $2\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. for 3 months Bills,  $3\frac{5}{8}$  per cent. for 6 months, and  $3\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. for 9 months. Yearling Bills, also at  $3\frac{3}{4}$  per cent., were issued also early in May. But on August 9th the selling rate "over the counter" was raised to  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. for Treasury Bills of all dates, the only change in the price since the new practice began in April. People hardly realise the proportions reached by this daily issue of Treasury Bills. From the *London Gazette* dated Tuesday, 25th January, 1916, I take the amount of Treasury Bills outstanding on the previous Saturday, viz.:—

Bills issued by Public Tender	...	£10,000,000
Bills otherwise issued,	...	£410,425,000
		<hr/> £420,425,000

Short loans like these Treasury Bills are always coming to maturity, when they have to be redeemed if not renewed. While convenient for the purpose of anticipating revenue, they are not convenient for financing war expenditure. An Exchequer Bond to run for a period of five years was much used to finance the Boer War. Finding money so plentiful in the market the Treasury in March, 1915, decided to raise £50,000,000 in 3 per cent. Five Year Exchequer Bonds, and the average price obtained for them was £3 18s. per cent. £20,000,000 of this money was wanted to repay old Exchequers that were maturing early in April. That was a deft stroke carried through in the interval between the two big War Loans. In the same way on December 16th, 1915, we learned, rather unexpectedly, of a new issue to an unlimited amount of five-year Exchequer Bonds paying 5 per cent. which may be taken up in multiples of £100 at any time. This is simply a continuing loan which ought to facilitate private saving. I see by the *London Gazette* above quoted that by Saturday, 22nd January, 1916, *i.e.*, in one month, £62,918,000 of these 5 per cent. Exchequers had already been paid for by the public. After this digression, on the methods employed by the Treasury for raising money in the market, I will return to the story of how Parliament has elected to finance this war.

In public finance the usual practice is to reckon in terms of the "financial year" ending on March 31st; each financial year being a water-tight compartment by itself, with its own balance sheet. The war has upset this practice—since each of the years 1914-15 and 1915-16 have had two Budgets. For these four Budgets I give the dates when they were first proposed, and the numbers of the Parliamentary Papers which contain the official figures in detail, *viz.* :—

	DATE.	PARL. PAPER.
I.	Pre-War Budget May 4, 1914, ...	1914 (No. 211).
II.	1st War Budget, Nov. 17, 1914, ...	1914 (No. 293).
III.	2nd War Budget, May 4, 1915, ...	1915 (No. 222).
IV.	3rd War Budget, Sept. 21, 1915, ...	1915 (No. 344).

Of course every Budget is only a forecast, based on the best official estimates that are possible; but the actual Receipts and Issues, which are only known after the close of the financial year, are the real thing that history is concerned with. At the present moment, the material at our disposal consists of the actual Receipts and Issues for the

year 1914-15—which are furnished in the Finance Accounts of the United Kingdom for 1914-15, viz., 1915 (No. 273)—and the Estimated Revenue and Expenditure for the year 1915-16, as finally revised in 1915 (No. 344).

My desire is to ascertain how the United Kingdom is financing this war; how is the money being found for the vast expenditure which is necessary; how much is being found by loans, and how much by taxation; and of the new taxation how much is direct taxes and how much is indirect taxes. To go into the particulars of four Budgets would be to get swamped in details. Accordingly I will ignore the division into separate financial years, and I will take the two years from April 1, 1914, to March 31, 1916, as one entire period, being four months of peace and twenty months of war.

The three Votes of Credit granted for the year 1914-15 amounted to £362,000,000, as we have already seen. Now £357,000,000 of that sum was needed and was actually issued in that year. For the year 1915-16 the Budget estimated that Votes of Credit will be needed amounting to £1,420,000,000. Up to the present time Mr. Asquith has moved for five such Votes for the year 1915-16, amounting to £1,300,000,000; viz.:—(1) On March 1, 1915, for £250,000,000; (2) On June 16, 1915, for £250,000,000; (3) On July 20, 1915, for £150,000,000; (4) On September 15, 1915, for £250,000,000; (5) On November 10, 1915, for £400,000,000, this last sum being expected to carry on to the middle of February, 1916. From his speech on November 10th, 1915, I extracted his rough estimates of the chief heads of war-expenditure for which these Votes of Credit were asked, which I throw into the form of a Table, viz.:—

EXTRAORDINARY WAR EXPENDITURES (Million £).

PERIOD OF TIME.	August 6 to March 31.	April 1 to July 17.	July 18 to Sept. 11.	Sept. 11 to Nov. 6.
Army, Navy, Munitions	275·0	241·7	130·0	145·6
Repayments to Bank of England.	—	—	50·0	54·0
Loans to Allies and Dominions.	48·8	44·0	15·9	40·4
Food Supplies, &c. ...	—	15·3	4·6	3·6
Total (Million £) ...	323·8	301·0	200·5	243·6

Assuming that the Vote of Credit for 1915-16 will need the whole 1,420 millions estimated for (an extreme figure), and adding the 357 millions actually used in 1914-15, we reach the figure of 1,777 millions. This would measure the expense over and above ordinary peace expenditure caused by the fact of war lasting for 20 months if the principle laid down by Mr. Asquith, and already quoted, would apply. But it has been decided (by a Treasury Minute of 5th February, 1915, Cd. 7790) that the ordinary peace expense for the Army and Navy (which was put at £80,436,000 in the Budget for 1914-15) shall be also provided for by the Votes of Credit, being represented by merely token figures in the Budget Statement. Deduct that 80 millions, and there remains 1,697 millions as the additional war expenses for the 20 months—an average of £2,800,000 per day for the whole period.

Leaving these generalities, we may set down the total of expenditure, of all kinds, for peace and for war, which the Government had to provide for as £560,474,000 (issued) for the year 1914-15, and £1,589,706,000 (estimated) for the year 1915-16; or 2,150 millions sterling for the whole period of two years. How has the money been found to pay for this vast expenditure?

The pre-War Budget of May 4, 1914, when estimating for a Revenue of £207,146,000 for the financial year 1914-15 had assumed peace conditions to prevail. But when war began on August 4th, it became questionable whether that Revenue would be realised, with eight months of the year passing under war conditions. The First War Budget of November 17, 1914, feared that under war conditions the Revenue would shrink to £195,796,000, a reduction of £11,350,000. No such shrinkage, however, occurred. Thanks to the wonderful efficiency of the Navy, British trade was scarcely affected by the war; and the large expenditure of Government money at home soon caused a burst of prosperity which was reflected in a swelling Revenue. The actual Receipts by the Exchequer during 1914-15 rose to £226,694,000, being Tax Revenue £189,305,000, and Non-Tax Revenue £37,389,000. This was much larger than the £211,296,000 which the First War Budget estimated for. Both these figures include the proceeds for eight months of the new War Taxes proposed by this November Budget, which were thought to yield £15,500,000 in 1914-15.

These new War Taxes of November, 1914, were three:—(1) Income-tax and Supertax were to be doubled, but for 1914-15 only one-third extra was to be charged; (2) An



additional Beer duty of 17s. 3d. per barrel (making 25s. in all) was equal to charging  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. on each half-pint; (3) An additional Tea duty of 3d. in the lb. (making 8d. in all). There was to be some reduction in the licence duty paid by publicans, corresponding to a curtailment of hours of business which caused a loss of £450,000 to revenue; while a suspension of the New Sinking Fund was a saving of £2,750,000 in expenditure. These War Taxes of November, 1914 (while yielding only £15,500,000 for 1914-15) were expected to bring in £65,000,000 during 1915-16.

When estimating the expenditure for 1914-15 Mr. Lloyd George had in November, 1914, to finance for two Votes of Credit amounting to 325 millions. So he put that year's expenditure at £535,367,000. Imagining that the year's revenue would (with his new Taxes yielding £15,500,000) reach £211,296,000, he foresaw a deficiency at the close of 1914-15 of about 324 millions sterling. This he proposed to meet by loans. Accordingly his Budget Speech of November 17, 1914, announced the First War Loan; it was for £350,000 bearing interest at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and redeemable at par during the period 1925-28. As £100 Loan Stock was issued for £95 cash, that would bring in about 332 millions to the Treasury, assuming that the Loan was fully subscribed as it was. On June 21, 1915, when explaining the Second War Loan, Mr. McKenna stated that £331,000,000 was the net amount from this First Loan. Thus Mr. Lloyd George hoped to have some 543 millions to meet an expenditure of 535 millions. That was in November, 1914. But on March 1, 1915, Mr. Asquith obtained a third Vote of Credit of £37,000,000 for this year 1914-15, making 362 millions in all. So it was fortunate that the revenue so largely exceeded the estimate. The actual Receipts of Revenue being £226,694,000 and the actual Issues for Expenditure being £560,474,000 the deficiency for the year 1914-15 was actually £333,780,000, which was covered by the First War Loan, and some temporary borrowing on Treasury Bills.

Coming to the financial year 1915-16, I have to deal only with Budget estimates. The Treasury publishes on Tuesdays in the *London Gazette*, the actual receipts and issues from week to week of the year; which are then resumed at the end of the year in the annual Finance Accounts of the United Kingdom. These weekly accounts, so far published, show that the Budget estimates of September 21, 1915, as regards Revenue will be considerably exceeded by March 31, 1916. As regards expenditure, we must wait and see. The Budget of September 21, 1915, estimated for



£1,589,706,000 expenditure, which covered Votes of Credit amounting to 1,420 millions; and the five Votes so far granted have come to 1,300 millions, which were to carry on to the middle of February, 1916. Six weeks, or 42 days, at £5,000,000 per day means 210 millions: we cannot tell, therefore, whether the 1,420 millions will carry us to the end of March, 1916, or not.

I have explained that the War Taxes of November, 1914, were expected during 1915-16 to bring in £65,000,000. She on the same basis of taxation the Revenue for 1915-16 would be £272,110,000. Mr. McKenna's new War Taxes of September 21, 1915, were estimated to yield £30,924,000 additional in 1915-16. In a full normal year their yield would be £102,155,000. But as 1915-16 is denuded by postponement of some of the taxes, so 1916-17 would be inflated above a normal year; and for 1916-17 the yield from these War Taxes of September 21, 1915, was expected to be £110,072,000. The Non-Tax Revenue was enlarged by certain increases in Postal Charges. The total Revenue for 1915-16 was estimated at £305,014,000. (In 1916-17 the same taxes would yield 384 millions.) As the expenditure for 1915-16 was put at £1,589,706,000 the Deficit on the year would amount to £1,284,692,000 which must be met by loans. If to this deficit of 1915-16 we add the £333,780,000 the realised deficit of 1914-15; and then add the Dead Weight Debt at April 1, 1914, viz., £651,270,000; we reach the figure £2,269,742,000 which might probably be the Dead Weight Debt on March 31, 1916. But as Conversions of Consols and First War Loan have taken place under the terms granted by the Second War Loan for which *data* were not then fully available, so Mr. McKenna on September 21, 1915, gave the round figure 2,200 millions as the amount of the National Debt at March 31, 1916. The interest on this sum at  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. would be 100 millions per annum.

I need not give the details for the new War Taxes proposed on September 21, 1915; they were set out in Parliamentary Paper No. 344 of 1915. We all remember that they include:—(1) Income-tax increased 40 per cent., with lower levels for exemptions and abatements, and Super-tax increased on incomes over £8,000; (2) Special tax of 50 per cent. on war profits; (3) Duties on tea, tobacco, cocoa, coffee and dried fruits raised by 50 per cent. (*e.g.*, Tea tax now 1s. per lb.), and on motor-spirit and patent medicine the duties were doubled; (4) Import Duties of  $33\frac{1}{3}$  per cent. *ad valorem* intended to restrict the importation of luxuries were imposed on motor-cars, motor-cycles,

plate glass, cinema films, etc.; (5) Postal charges were increased. According to the estimates made these taxes were distributed as follows for 1916-17, viz., Indirect Taxes (Customs and Excise) contribute £11,500,000; Direct Taxes (Inland Revenue), £19,424,000, which includes £6,000,000 for the Excess Profits Tax. In a full normal year the same taxes are estimated as follows, viz., Indirect Taxes, £25,070,000; Direct Taxes, £77,085,000, which includes £30,000,000 for the Excess Profits Tax. For 1916-17 only, the figures will be Indirect Taxes £25,070,000; Direct Taxes, £85,002,000, which includes £37,000,000 for the Excess Profits Tax.

To finance the country, the Government must raise by loans during the financial year ending March 31, 1916, a total sum equal to the Deficit, £1,284,692,000. We have seen that over £400,000,000 has been raised in the market by Treasury Bills. But these short loans fall due again so quickly that they offer merely a postponement of liabilities. Still, there they are selling daily "over the counter" at the Bank of England for a fixed price of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. The £50,000,000 of 3 per cent. Five-year Exchequer Bonds (which the Treasury placed on the market in March, 1915, at an average price of £3 18s. per cent.) are a more useful form of war-time security; and although £20,000,000 of this was wanted to pay some (Boer War) Exchequers which were to mature in April, there is probably £30,000,000 from that source included in the Exchequer balance, amounting to £83,450,952 (*London Gazette* dated January 25, 1916), which was carried over from the previous financial year, 1914-15. The Second War Loan, proposed by Mr. McKenna on June 21, 1915, is to carry  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. interest and will be redeemable at par during the period 1925-45; when it closed on July 10th the total subscribed was £570,000,000, and the small applications through the Post Office (which remained open longer) are understood to have raised this total to £600,000,000. According to the *London Gazette* £586,316,000 had been already received into the Exchequer by January 22nd, 1916, from this Second War Loan. I notice also that £35,798,408 of the First War Loan has been received since April 1, 1915. Then the American Loan of £100,000,000, which was negotiated in New York, September 16-29, 1915, is one-half British and one-half French: it was a 5 per cent. loan issued to underwriters at 96 for public sale at 98. That should mean £48,000,000 to our Exchequer; and I see that on January 22, 1916, the Exchequer had already received £38,900,000 from that source. The sums which I have

already named as accruing during the year 1915-16 come to a total of about 1,167 millions. Clearly something more had to be done. Hence on December 16, 1915, the Government announced a new issue of Five per cent. Five-Year Exchequer Bonds for an unlimited amount which are now on issue daily at the Bank of England. They amount to a continuing loan at 5 per cent. redeemable at par in five years. In the *London Gazette* I see that by January 22, 1916, £62,918,000 had already been received from this source. If they continue selling at about £12,000,000 per week for the nine weeks to the end of March, the Exchequer will receive another 100 millions. If so a total of 1,330 millions sterling will have been raised by loans of one sort or another, in order to meet the Budget deficiency of 1,285 millions sterling.

I take it, then, that at the close of the year 1915-16 the Government will have performed its gigantic task of finding the money for an expenditure of 1,590 millions sterling all spent in one year. Certainly, it will be a very remarkable performance. But as the war will not cease on March 31, 1916, we must look forward to bigger financial achievements in 1916-17. In the current fiscal year the British Army is costing £715,000,000 certain; but it has been recently raised from 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 men, so that this figure may be exceeded. £190,000,000 is being spent on the Navy. Mr. McKenna (in his Speech of September 21, 1915) has told us that £423,000,000 will be advanced by loans to the Allies' and Dominions' Governments. And out of a total Expenditure of 1,590 millions, only 305 millions is being raised from Revenue. Now in 1916-17 the British Army may be costing £1000,000,000, the British Navy £200,000,000, and the monetary assistance to be made to our Allies and Dominions may be anything from 400 to 600 millions. The Civil Services, with the greatly increased interest on the National Debt will certainly require over £200,000,000. We may vaguely forecast that the expenditure during 1916-17 will be somewhere about £2000,000,000 if the war continues until March 31, 1917: a sum not far short of the entire aggregate income of the whole population.

Perhaps that is a chapter in the "British Finance of the War" which may never have to be written. But I have sketched the chapter which brings this amazing story down to March 31, 1916. Speaking merely of economic considerations, there are three disquieting features in the situation. One is the constant advance in prices that is taking place, which is diminishing so greatly the quantity of goods

that can be obtained for a given sum of money. Sauerbeck's Index Number of the prices of 45 commodities (which is now calculated and published by the "Statist") was 81·2 before the War; it was 118·4 at the end of December, 1915, which means an advance of 46 per cent. in prices in eighteen months. (The influence of the great rise in freights on prices is thought to account for 18 per cent. of this advance.) Such large forces are drawn from production to fighting that the output of commodities is shrinking considerably; and then the increased prosperity of neutral countries which are making money through the expenditure of the combatants causes them to increase their consumption above the normal, so that they compete with us more effectively for the purchase of the shortened stocks of commodities. Another disquieting feature is the increasing inequality between our imports and exports which puts all the foreign exchanges against us. Taking the whole of 1915, the excess of imports over exports has amounted to about £400,000,000. This adverse balance is sure to become larger because our own productive power is being reduced. But the most disquieting feature in the economic situation is the withdrawal of another 1,000,000 from productive work to join the Army. If we had Generals, or a General Staff, competent to handle these large forces, the increase of the Army to 4,000,000 men might be the means of shortening the War. But the incompetence of our Higher Command merely dissipates our forces over many separate campaigns or immobilises them at points where the large bodies of troops are standing inactive. The expense is prodigious, but the military result is practically nil. Now if we lack the generalship that can end the War quickly; if in consequence the War is only to be won by a test of economic endurance (for a stalemate would be absurd); then 3,000,000 (or even 2,000,000) men are sufficient to stand fast; and our power of economic endurance should not be diminished by withdrawing 1,000,000 or 2,000,000 men from productive labour. There is little doubt, I think, that the United Kingdom is able to finance the War for another two years if it must be. But this country has never got value for its money in any war; and there never has been a war where money has been squandered without value received in return to the extent that it has been squandered in the present war,



## POST-WAR FUNCTIONS OF COMMERCIAL EDUCATION.

BY ARTHUR WILLIAMSON, M.A.,

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[Read Friday, June 6th, 1916.]

The title which I have chosen for the heading of this paper is at the best a vague and imperfect one. There are so many points to be considered, and the field of discussion is so wide as to our preparation for the Trade War which must inevitably ensue at the conclusion of the military one, that it is hard to find a central line of thought to which one can adhere without manifold digressions and side tracks.

“ The Post-War Functions of Commercial Education ” implies, primarily, an examination of the specialised instruction for persons engaged in the purchase, sale and transport of goods as distinct from those concerned in the manufacture of those goods. But the manufacture of goods is so absolutely precedent to their sale and transport, and so entirely dominates all the issues with which we have to deal, that no discussion could claim to be complete which did not pay some attention to it.

The general object of the discussion is, I take it, the promotion of our economic welfare in the hurly-burly which is certain to arise on the return of peace. Once or twice since the war started, I have endeavoured to convey an impression of what the effect of the outbreak of war was on the world's commerce, in some such terms as follow:—

I should like you to picture for yourselves the broad general aspect of the world of commerce as it existed in pre-war times. The great nations were all engaged in the work of production of materials for human consumption. Each one of them excelled in some particular line of products and in it had a marked pre-eminence over all its rivals. We need only instance the wheat and steel of America and the textile manufactures of our own country. These staple products were being exchanged each for the other in the varying proportions set up by their world values; so many yards of cloth for so many tons of wheat. But beyond these staples there was a vast range of products which all of them made in a greater or less degree, and for



the sale of these they were competitors in the world markets. The sales were determined in terms of quality and price, and these in turn resolved themselves into cost of production. The most highly organised community produced most cheaply. The whole world was one busy market, the parts of it bound together by business ties and often by community of interests. International commerce was like a great living organism. The life blood of the whole was finance and the delicate mechanism of the exchanges saw to it that this blood was distributed to the parts, the constituent countries, in proportion to their several needs. The symptom of perfect health was perfect peace.

Suddenly this organism was mutilated. Its parts were rent violently asunder. Just as in the living animal, the scission was accompanied by violent pain and dislocation; and, again as in the animal, each of the parts has endeavoured to pick up a truncated existence within itself. You and I experience this in the increased prices of our food and clothing and in the diminished purchasing power of our incomes. The longer the war continues the less shall we feel this; the torn places will heal as we become more and more self-supporting and self-contained. The healing will, indeed, go on more rapidly in our case than in that of our enemies, since our control of the seas keeps open many of our sources of supply while closing them to our enemies. The more accustomed to this self-sufficiency we become, the less we shall like to return to our former state of dependence on others for the essentials of comfortable living.

The crisis will come with the ending of the war. In any case, the communities now separated by a wall of bitter enmity will, under the softening influence of time, tend to meet again in normal trade intercourse, and our experience of those who are now our enemies tells us that they will spare no effort to hasten the process. I take it, however, that having learned our lesson we shall not soon forget it, and that the national unity and organisation which is being burned into us will enable us to retain much, if not all, we are now beginning to acquire. We shall not need to reason "why?" The only question for us is "how?"

We are trying to obtain the answer to that "how," and the immediate object of our meeting is to consider that portion of it which will be affected by a re-construction of our educational methods and outlook.

What is industrial success with its connotation of economic welfare? I hope the definition will not be considered too narrow if I describe it as procuring, either by

manufacture or exchange, of the greatest possible supply of the commodities required by our population; a diet sufficient in amount and satisfactory in quality; houses of hygienic accommodation; and clothing adequate and suitable to our climate and work. These, with all the hundred and one appurtenances and trifles that make for our physical comfort and social amenity, are the prizes we set before us. We must leave out of count, or regard as incidental, the power of education to elevate our ideals or to widen and deepen our imagination and culture. The measure of industrial success must be material, expressible in terms of the standard of living existent amongst us. I do not mean to imply that the moral and social sides of education are to be neglected or belittled, but only that these aspects of it are outside of our present inquiry.

We may assume that our chief rivals in the scramble for the world's trade which will inevitably follow the making of peace will be Germany, the United States, and Japan, and it may be well at this point to examine the resources and methods of those rivals, and to deduce from them such lessons as we may to prepare us for the contest. This will not be to scrap our old methods, but merely to re-cast them where observation and experience may show it necessary so to do.

All businesses, wheresoever carried on, are conducted for the profit of the owners of the businesses. Generally, whether this object is attained, the State as a whole benefits by increased revenue and by the upkeep of its people. The extent to which this incidental gain enters into the calculations of the promoters of businesses is determined by the communal concept of the State and of its functions. In Germany, to which our thoughts are most strongly drawn at the present time, we find both ideas, profit earning and state supporting, strongly marked and exemplified. Many people think that with the defeat of Germany in this war there will follow her great decline in the world's commerce. Historically and economically that view is unsound. Throughout its advance from the Mark of Brandenburg to the Empire of Germany, the Hohenzollern rule has suffered only one great check, the defeat of Prussia by Napoleon in the early years of the nineteenth century. The lowest point was touched at the end of 1806 when the disaster of Jena seemed once for all to limit her future to the level of a second-rate Power. From this point the ascent has been practically continuous. The words of the King of Prussia at that time set the keynote and direction to the national aspiration. "The state must re-gain in

intellectual power what it has lost in material power, and to this end I desire that everything may be done to extend and perfect the education of my people." That epoch is marked by the foundation of the University of Berlin, and we all know how faithfully the pathway back to efficiency and power so defined has been adhered to. We have experienced, moreover, its tremendous effectiveness. The first care of the State has been that no individual shall escape from the educational system. Compulsion has become a fine art in that it is no longer felt to be compulsion, but a sacred duty. There is no outward sign which would seem to indicate that the inward force which enabled a stricken and impoverished community to rise within half a century to the position of the world's greatest military power, with an industrial output that secured to itself a large portion of the world's commerce, has lost any of its potency. From the economic standpoint, too, it would appear that it will be much easier to talk about the curbing of Germany's trade power than to make it a practical issue. Sixty-five million people, occupying 210,000 square miles of territory, compact in form, rich in the most important minerals, and with a large agricultural area skilfully tilled, will be difficult to restrain in their efforts to exchange their own products for those of other nations. Even if the move be successful, it will only serve to increase the self-sufficiency of Germany by leaving her to consider first the wants of her own people. There is but one path which will lead to economic success in such a struggle as this, and that is, to emulate her in productive activity. To that end we must learn the secret of her progress and adapt it to our own uses.

Germany has maintained tenaciously the ideal of Frederick William quoted above. Education has been her strong suit. The organisation of her system has been the admiration and envy of rival nations for generations. Starting with a uniform system of training for every child within the Empire, she carries them through an elementary course completed at an average age of fourteen. At that age, every normal boy and girl has acquired, and is able to apply, an amount of knowledge which we in this country would be grateful to find in our boys and girls of three years older. At this point divergence begins. A large proportion of the children go to work, but are still compelled to continue their studies in evening schools and classes. The only difference in this respect is that the punishment for non-attendance no longer falls on the parents it is now placed on the employers. A student

who has to go to an evening class must be permitted to leave his place of employment at such an hour as will enable him to be in good time for his class.

For those luckier children, whose parents can afford to keep them at the day school for some time longer, specialisation then begins. The young student is prepared for commerce, industry, agriculture or a profession, as the case may be, the intensity of specialisation growing as the sessions pass over. The university caps the whole, and gives to the work already done a suitable finish and point of application. But in this beautifully symmetrically whole, close analysis reveals flaws.

The first and greatest of these is in the physical condition of the pupils. The abundant vitality and energy which are so remarkable in the English boy or girl attending a secondary school, finding its outlet in games and sometimes in more objectionable ways, is almost entirely absent in the German student. In an English school compulsory games are a means of directing that energy into safe channels with the elements of discipline, self-control and good sportmanship thrown in. In Germany, a game, when it is played at all, is a very serious thing, not to be approached in any light or frivolous spirit. Looking down a German classroom, one is often struck, especially in evening classes, at the white, fine-drawn expression on many of the faces. Moreover, too large a percentage of the students wear spectacles, even if it be granted that the glasses are in many cases merely protective.

Going deeper than this question of physical ability, one comes to the conclusion that specialisation can be, and is, overdone. In the United Kingdom, while the great mass of the population are content to remain in the social and industrial stratum in which they are born, there is ample room for, and hope of, promotion. Social conventions and want of means may, and very often do, hamper the upward-toiling youth, but there are at least no permanent and insurmountable barriers. In Germany, a boy is trained for one object and on one plane. He is made to fit a given place with mathematical accuracy, but outside of that place he is hopeless. He is a very perfect machine for the carrying out of a given narrow function. The difficulty which every teacher in this country has felt, and which has passed into a by-word amongst parents, of stating just in what particular line a boy will most probably succeed is not allowed any force in Germany. The boy's future is settled for him, and he is too well trained to escape from it. Thus the nation as a whole is robbed of the uplift to the entire community which follows from the struggle upwards of



some of its constituent parts. Finally, and this includes all the merits and demerits of German education, there is the idea of the all-controlling State. A day's work is done, not only for the employer, but for the State, thus adding to the blotting out of individualism as a motive force. Again, and we are only beginning to grasp the full force and effect of the idea, the state is a non-moral one. The British dictum, with its constitutional and legal limitations, that the king can do no wrong, is transferred in Germany to the state, and may be read that nothing the state does can be wrong. The principle is fundamentally vicious. A departure from ethical standards can always be justified by a reference to the service of the state. German commerce is a fine thing from the outside, but the core in many places is rotten.

Turning now to the United States, the second of our great rivals in the world market, we find a population not greatly exceeding that of Germany, occupying an area as large as Europe, with every variety of climate, soil and mineral resources. The population is being continuously enriched by practically all the most adventurous elements in the various nations of the earth. As varied as its climate are the nature and efficiency of its educational institutions. It has universities, competing in curriculum with Oxford and Cambridge, and others which parallel Manchester and Birmingham. But below these there is a gradually descending scale until we reach some which are little, if anything, above the level of our ordinary secondary schools. When a boy or girl wishes for specialised instruction, he or she must seek it unaided. Each individual is flung into the industrial arena to sink or swim as he is able. No social convention exists to keep him down; no outside help can sustain him in a position he is not fit to hold. In such a community, personal weakness spells ruin, just as surely as personal ability spells success. We may say of industrial America, as a great statesman has said of political America, that she has the glorious privilege of youth, that of committing excesses without suffering for them. The curve of American trade is still mounting upwards with increasing velocity, nor can we expect it to flatten until a juster proportion exists between her population and her natural resources.

The object lessons she can most usefully teach us are on the one hand, the greater perfecting of our industrial organisation, and on the other, the avoidance of her point of view with regard to the social side of living, and the pursuit of material prosperity for its own sake.



The last of our potential rivals is Japan, who, without any settled ideas of education, is absorbing all that she considers best of the educational systems of the world, and applying it with genius to the development of her own resources.

The great lessons that we may learn from this rapid survey of the methods of our competitors may be summed up as follows:—

From Germany, so to intensify our methods of teaching, both as to time and specialisation, as to increase the usefulness of our young people to their employers, while leaving them as large a measure as possible of initiative and as large a prospect as possible of advancement: From America, to endeavour to find a place for everybody in the industrial arena but without losing sight of the fact that work is only one of the factors which make up human life: From Japan, to combine conservatism with progress.

It is with the first of these great lessons that we are to-night called upon to deal, and the immediate example selected is the preparation of young people for commercial pursuits. One can best deal with this under the circumstances by discussing exclusively Irish education.

At first sight it would seem that the provision for education of all kinds in Ireland is ample. We have an elementary system carried on in schools easily accessible to every child in the country, and a secondary system which, as formulated in the syllabuses of the Intermediate Board, completely fills the gap between the elementary school and the university. Technical Schools and classes are established in practically every town in the country; some of them, as, for instance, those in Dublin, Belfast, and Cork, challenging comparison with the best of their kind in England and Scotland; and we have three great Universities, one of them federal, splendidly staffed and equipped. But the actual falls short of the possible in the education of the young people of our country. There is no need here and now to elaborate the statistics which prove, what the experience of every person interested in Irish education has shown abundantly to be true, that the great bulk of the elementary school children in this country leave school in the third or a lower standard. No system, however elaborate or efficiently organised, can be built on such a foundation as this. There is no use our discussing the point and direction of our higher education, Secondary, Technical or University, until this glaring evil is made right.

The first great need is an efficient and universal measure

of compulsion, the second is the adoption of an examination for, and issue of, a Higher Leaving Certificate as a finish to the elementary school stage. It is pleasant to note that a move in this direction is already being made. In a few weeks the first examination will be held in Belfast for these certificates, and it is to be hoped that a similar scheme for the metropolitan area will soon follow. It may be expected that employers of all kinds, whether industrial or commercial, will at once insist on the production of this certificate as a preliminary to their considering any applications. These two measures commenced now and rigorously carried out would in five years lift the education of our young people to a plane that most of us have come to regard as unattainable. But the matter should not end there. No standard which can be reached by the average boy or girl of fourteen can be considered sufficient. A proper system of evening continuation classes must be organised in conjunction with our Technical Schools, which will continue the process, if necessary, up to Matriculation level, and it is greatly to be desired that some of the County Council Scholarships now offered so generally for admission to the Universities should be won by students who have been prepared for them in this way. I would go further, also make it a condition of admission to the Intermediate examinations that every candidate should be in possession of this certificate. Then, indeed, Intermediate education would be the real natural link between the elementary school and the university. Already Technical Instruction Committees everywhere are conducting examinations, roughly equivalent to the Junior Grade Pass, for admission to their classes, but the establishment of a certificate such as this would at once dispense with the necessity for this entrance examination, and enable the Principals to arrange for a properly graded system of Technical Instruction suited to the needs of their pupils. Unless and until these fundamental reforms are effected, it is simply futile to discuss the part that Irish education is going to play in the forthcoming economic war.

What is that part, and what particular share in it is Commercial Education to take? Lecturing to my own students some few years ago, I attempted to define what was meant by Commercial Education in these terms:—“On its lowest plane, it implies the building up of a vast store of knowledge; higher, it means the formation of habits of accuracy, promptness and decision; and, highest of all, the development of character and the evolution of a system of Commercial Ethics.” Let us deal with these in

turn. What is the vast store of knowledge? It includes, I think, every fact that a business man ought to know in connection with the business in which he is engaged. First there comes a perfect knowledge of the goods he handles, the source of their raw materials, the processes of their manufacture, and the stages by which they pass from the manufacturers' hands into his own. There follows that he must know the method of distributing them which will be most convenient to himself and to his customers; the method of making the various calculations that arise throughout and the recording in accurate and convenient forms of the various transactions as they occur. To do all this properly he must have as a basis a good general education as it is generally understood. He should also know much of the languages of the countries with which his trading brings him into contact, and be conversant with their currency, weights and measures. The physical facts which influence the manufacture and distribution of his wares, as, for example, the climates of the countries and the habits of the people living in them, will also be important. The very fact of a man undergoing such a preparation as this will induce in him the habits which we have spoken of as being on the plane above the mere acquisition of knowledge: accuracy, promptness and decision. Most important of all, it will show him how necessary is the substitution of adequate organisation for hap-hazard methods in the conduct of his business. Indeed, if there is one idea that should be burned into the mind of every business man, present and prospective, it is that organisation is the key to business success. The supreme organiser is of course a genius, and as such, is born, not made. But it is equally true that a very considerable amount of organising ability can be acquired in business just as in any other department of human effort and applied, even in the simplest concerns; to this end, therefore should be directed, not only the training that young people get in the business itself, but that which is given to them in the classes they attend. At the apex of the process of commercial education, but really running through the whole of it from the lowest grade to the highest, is the development of character, as evidenced by the absolutely binding quality of a promise, the perfect truth and reliability of every guarantee, and the sportsmanlike acceptance of victory or defeat. If we can turn out a generation of young business men prepared in some such way as this, our natural share of the traffic of the world will unfailingly find its way to our doors. The lack of such preparation has been the true

explanation of our slow advance, if not actual retrogression, during the past thirty or forty years.

It is necessary to consider what facilities exist in Ireland at present for the giving of such specialised instruction as we have just outlined. The first is through the Technical Schools and classes now established everywhere throughout the country. If one were to speak critically, one might almost say that, comparatively with the other departments of technology, commercial instruction is playing too large a part in the work of these schools, and it is greatly to be regretted that the anxiety for improvement shown by our clerks and shop assistants of both sexes is not noticeably shared by our future farmers and craftsmen. It will not serve any useful purpose to confine the work of the commercial teachers to the limits set by the students of their less fortunate colleagues; rather it would seem that every facility should be given to the class which has hitherto shown itself most avid for self-improvement, leaving the others to realise in time how valuable an asset they are missing. In these commercial classes we find the first of the three stages indicated above, the acquisition of a store of facts, receiving a greater or less share of attention in proportion to the means at the disposal of the Committee and the number of students the local population can supply. In several instances, where the conditions are exceptionally favourable, it has been found possible to organise departments that are, to all intents and purposes, separate schools of commerce. This is notably true of Dublin, Belfast, and Cork. In Rathmines, guided thereto by the special character of the population, the Committee have frankly confined themselves to Commerce alone, though they have recently found it advisable to establish a special school for Domestic Science also. Very valuable work is being done in these classes, and already they have raised the level of service as rendered by the students, in a very remarkable degree. The great drawback, however, to the work of the Technical Schools is to be found in the fact that the teaching is almost exclusively confined to the evenings, and is thus open to the general objection of being given by tired teachers to tired students. As a set-off against this drawback, but only as a set-off and by no means an adequate compensation, the students are receiving a practical training in their daily work, and the teachers are men and women in close touch with actual business conditions and requirements. Here and there attempts are being made to establish Day Schools of Commerce. If I may be permitted again to refer to Rathmines, I should like to say that the



authorities there have established what amounts to a Day Secondary School with a strong commercial bias. Hitherto the enrolment has been disappointing, but as time goes on and as knowledge of the school's methods and aims extends, we may anticipate an increasing demand for admission. Meantime, it is gratifying to note that business men, at any rate, are showing themselves keenly alive to the advantages of the new departure, and that we have had no difficulty in placing these boys in positions which offer them more than a fair chance of success. As an indication of what may be done, I note below the subjects taught and the time per week given to each, merely observing that the twenty-hour week indicated is much too short. The ideal would be thirty.

Mathematics,	...	...	...	4 hours.
Book-keeping,	...	..	...	3 ,,
English, including Business Methods,				5 ,,
French,	...	...	...	3 ,,
Shorthand,	...	...	...	3 ,,
Industrial History and Commercial Geography,	...	...	...	2 ,,

This is, of course, only the first year's work; a second and third year should certainly be added.

In our ordinary secondary schools increased attention is being given to a course of education leading up naturally to the office as opposed to the university. The Intermediate Board about three years ago added to their list of subjects a commercial course, thus enabling headmasters to develop, side by side with the general culture that we have always regarded it as the special function of these schools to supply, a technical training adapting the pupils for their future occupation. This is a most desirable arrangement. Until it was introduced, the commercial form was too often a convenient side track for students who showed no aptitude for the subjects likely to make for success in the Intermediate examinations. It remains to be seen, and only experience can show, whether training such as this will give us the right stamp of business man.

Finally, we have to consider the faculties of commerce in our universities. It may be said in passing, that Trinity, the most venerable of them all, has not yet established a regular teaching faculty of this important type. The diploma at present given is useful, but insufficient, and, above all, fails in the important point of contact between the teacher of university type and the student. Queen's University, Belfast, has established a very good faculty, and there is one in each of the constituent colleges



of the National University in Dublin, Cork, and Galway. But the plane of instruction in these faculties is not yet high enough, mainly because there is not in existence any proper feeding ground from the stratum immediately below. There is a provision in the German *Handelshochschule* that no person can be admitted who has not the certificate given at the end of the secondary school course and at least two years' practical business experience. We might expect better results from our own university faculties if some such limitation were applied there also.

Now we come to the most vital and pertinent question of all. How are men and women trained in this way to help us in our effort to get and retain a bigger share of the world's trade, with its natural consequence of increased employment and a higher standard of living for the people of these islands? The first great outlet will, I think, be found in the staffing of our business houses at home. We should be able to rely on a home-trained staff for every position in the office. It should no longer be necessary for us to introduce into our most confidential departments workers of another nationality, who, as we now know, have accepted those positions at a lower rate of wages than the home product can afford to take, not because, as they have hitherto plausibly explained, they wish to get a knowledge of the English language, but because they are able to tap for their own government, and through that government their merchants, the means of defeating us in the common market. Moreover, this home staffing will give us a better service and will be a well from which our own great merchants can draw men competent to fill the higher positions in their gift. This alone will be an immense improvement, but does not exhaust the requirements and possibilities of the situation. At the present time, a large proportion of British trade in foreign countries is done through agents of other than British nationality. To begin with, these men are often wanting in expert knowledge of the goods sent them by the firms they represent. They take the particular agency in conjunction with several others, and push it or not as seems most convenient. It may be impossible to get rid of the agency business entirely, but at least the agent should be British, and if his time be not fully occupied in the sale of one given commodity, he can branch out into cognate products and work them conjointly. Where it is possible, however, young men specially drilled in higher commercial schools should be planted on the spot to watch directly the interests of a given firm. The common reply to this by some of our

greatest business men and by any number of their smaller rivals is, that the training in the works is sufficient. The actual test has shown that it is not sufficient. The German output of the high schools of commerce succeeds where the British lamentably fails. We may take a wider view. By their system of establishing these highly qualified young men in all parts of the world, the Germans have contrived to produce what may be called a German tendency in the minds of foreign traders. These traders find their slightest wish as to the get-up, packing and delivery of their goods, carefully attended to. They have a personal interview with a representative of the firm, who has full power to treat, and whose promises are regarded as the promise of his firm. The British representative, whether direct or agent, can often only promise to consult his firm in the matter, thus involving a delay of weeks and often a loss of the business. Here again, we must train specialists on whom the trader can rely for an immediate and final answer, and on whom the firm at home can rely not to involve them in unprofitable business.

There remains to be considered our consular service with all that it connotes. It seems to be forgotten very often that our Consuls are primarily commercial in their functions. No doubt, political duties are added on, arising chiefly out of the commercial duties, but these latter come first in importance, real and implied. Arising partly from the method of appointment, and partly from the lofty indifference of our Government to mere business considerations, the political side has been inflated far beyond the original intention, resulting in a corresponding shrinkage in the foundational need. One of the chief post-war functions of commercial education will be to provide the Government with a sufficient number of young men conversant with the practice and technique of commerce, from whom to select a body of public servants, who will make the promotion of their country's business interests the be-all and the end-all of their existence. It follows as a corollary that the Government must wish to avail themselves of such service, and this points towards a radical reconstruction of the methods of our Board of Trade, or rather, to the much more needed change of the creation of a Department of Commerce, leaving to the Board of Trade as now constituted the superintendence of industrial matters pure and simple. It may be possible to set up a Ministry of Commerce staffed largely with business men more permanent in position than the usual occupants of ministerial office. Even if it be found impossible to dis-

pense altogether with political considerations in the selection of the nominal chief, the personnel of both great parties will probably be such as to afford at least one great business man for this important office.

These considerations lead us further still. It should, in view of the educational advance in all directions within the last twenty years, be possible to substitute for the absolutely competitive examination a method of selection which would be as great an advance on the purely competitive system as that system was on the nepotism which preceded it. Already the great municipal corporations, banks, railways, etc., use the preliminary examination merely as a method of rejecting the obviously unfit, depending on their own personal discrimination for the final choice. The work would be greatly facilitated by the acceptance of a degree in Commerce as exempting from the qualifying examination. But there is no need here to labour details of a change so far-reaching in its results. The competitive system has hitherto yielded as good a class of civil servant either for home or foreign service as any that could have been adopted under the circumstances which obtained when it was first introduced. But it has led gradually to a result, which must give every person interested in the right use of the youth of our country matter for serious thought. At present, all over the three kingdoms, and out of all proportion in Ireland itself, there is a large number of young men and women reading for civil service appointments, of whom only the most trivial percentage can ever hope to succeed; the rest are thrown idle on the community at an age when their more fortunate brothers and sisters have already been at work for several years. No business man wants them, nor are they themselves inclined to go into offices where they would rank as juniors to others much younger than themselves. There remains for them nothing but emigration or the most casual and ill-paid employment.

But this digression must not draw us from our real purpose of this evening. It is sufficient here and now to say that, particularly in our consular service, the Government should select young men and women with business qualifications, and that, on the other hand, the schools must supply a sufficiency of the raw material to make such a selection possible. There are two main directions, South America and Russia, in which this revision of our outlook is especially called for. Already, thanks to our linen trade, there are in South and Central America, many able young business Irishmen, who are serving their firms, and incidentally their country, in a very remarkable degree. But

the possibilities of the Continent are not more than skimmed. Everywhere the Germans are developing their influence and trade, supported by the full power of their government machine. Certain parts of Brazil are to all intents and purposes German colonies, and such of our manufacturers as have endeavoured to open up trade have found themselves hampered and beaten at every turn. Russia has also been a German happy-hunting ground, and one of the chief difficulties of our ally at the commencement of the war was the clearing out of the enemy, who had planted such a terribly fixed foot. There, at any rate, we shall be able to start with a national predisposition in our favour, and it will be entirely our own fault if, from governmental aloofness or want of business enterprise, we fail to get a good result.

The last idea I venture to suggest is also somewhat of a digression from the general purpose of this paper. It is the size of the unit with which we ought to enter on this economic war. Reference has already been made to the size of the United States and the diversity of its parts in soil, climate and resources, with the resultant advantage that these have afforded the business community there in their efforts towards industrial and commercial success. Rightly considered, our own Empire is equally fortunate in this regard. If, as we all hope, there should be a strengthening and shortening of the political ties which now bind the various parts of the Empire together, and if it be the aim of those parts to treat primarily and preferentially one with the other, the advantage of America in this respect will be more than balanced; and if, as a result of the resentments and animosities set up by the present war, Germany should be practically excluded from so great a portion of the world's markets as are governed by our common King, no military advantage, however great, that she may obtain, will compensate her for her loss. But it is supremely important that efforts towards this end should be commenced now. There is no reason why our educational ideals and standards should not be immediately revised, and particularly those parts of them which we are to-night discussing. The prize is a great one. The winning of it will follow as a matter of course if the task be reasonably, immediately, and energetically undertaken.



## PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

## SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND THE WAR.

BY WILLIAM LAWSON, LL.D.

[Read November 24th, 1916.]

## Introductory.

My first duty on occupying the chair is to return my best thanks to the Society for electing me to the office of President for this, the 70th Session of its existence. I was elected a Member of the Society on January 31st, 1882. Dr. Neilson Hancock was then the President. The title of the paper read on that evening by Mr. John Ferguson was "The present position of the Irish National School Teachers as regards salaries, pensions and residences." At the present day the question of the teachers' salaries is occupying public attention, and a demand is made for an increase, especially in the case of women teachers. I may have something to say later on in this Session upon this subject—Education in our National Schools, which is one of the social problems which will have to be dealt with in the future.

On June 24th, 1884, I was elected a Member of the Council, and on January 20th, 1893, I was elected one of the Honorary Secretaries, my colleagues then being W. F. Bailey, now Mr. Commissioner Bailey, and Jonathan Pim, now Mr. Justice Pim. I held that office up to the meeting of the Society in June last. It is usual to select a President from one of the Vice-Presidents, so it is an exceptional honour to promote me direct to the Presidential Chair. One of our Honorary Secretaries, Dr. Ninian Falkiner, Superintendent of the Statistical Branch of the General Register Office, has since the commencement of the war been on Army Medical duty in England, and the work has been carried on by Mr. Herbert Wood and myself. It devolves on the Society to elect someone in my place.



Many changes have taken place in Ireland since the year 1882; the most notable are the system of Fixity of Tenure and Fair Rents, established by the Land Act of 1881, the conversion of tenants into purchasers by the Land Purchase Acts, the introduction of Local Government by the Act of 1898, the establishment of the Congested Districts Board, and the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction. This Society has had considerable influence, by its papers and discussions, in focussing public opinion and bringing about these and other reforms, and it may be of interest to give a brief sketch of the origin and work of the Society, which I take from a leaflet which was issued in 1910:—

On November 23rd, 1847, at a meeting held at the Royal Irish Academy, under the presidency of His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin (Dr. Whately), it was resolved on the motion of Captain Larcom, R.E. (afterwards Sir Thomas Larcom, Bart.), seconded by Professor (afterwards Judge) Longfield, "that a Society be established in Dublin for promoting the study of Statistical and Economical Science to be called the Dublin Statistical Society." This Society was founded under pressure of the serious economic problems which were then calling for solution, and it was hoped that by a thorough scientific study of the existing conditions some remedy might be found to alleviate the evils which were having such a disastrous effect upon the country. Dr. Neilson Hancock and Mr. J. A. Lawson (afterwards Mr. Justice Lawson) were the first Honorary Secretaries of the Society. Dr. Hancock may be said to have been the founder of the Society, as the preliminary meeting was held in his room in Trinity College. He was at the time Whately Professor of Political Economy in the University of Dublin, which office Mr. Lawson had also filled. There were 81 original members, which number was increased to 110 before the end of the first session.

In the year 1882, after the meeting in Dublin in the previous autumn of the National Association for the promotion of Social Science, it was resolved to extend the sphere of the Society's activity to all questions of Social Science, and the name of the Society was changed to its present title of "The Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland." With such an extended outlook, the Society has found no lack of subjects of immediate and pressing interest to discuss, amongst which may be noted Poor Law Relief, boarding out of pauper children, co-operative societies, education, necessity of State provision for the education of the deaf, dumb, blind, and imbecile, factory legis-

lation, connection between disease and over-crowding, statistics of crime, strikes, and trades unions, savings banks, plans for extinction of the National Debt, decimal coinage and the metric system, taxation of Ireland, private bill legislation, amendment of the laws of Landlord and Tenant, Land Purchase, Forestry, Purchase of Railways, and many others dealing with the social and economic condition of the country.

The system of treating such subjects in a calm and scientific spirit, with a rigorous exclusion of party politics, has been the means of enlightening public opinion and frequently of influencing legislation. Special committees can be appointed for promoting the investigation of any particular subject.

The Society has also been of assistance in aiding the Trustees of the Barrington Lecture Fund to choose efficient lecturers to visit the towns of Ireland and deliver lectures on Political Economy.

### **Proceedings of the Society since the Commencement of the War.**

It was suggested that the operations of the Society should be suspended during the war, but the Council were of opinion that the war called for the consideration of all manner of economic questions, e.g., public expenditure, private thrift, increase of home produce, diminished dependence upon foreign supplies, and the like, and that those of us who were debarred by age, physical infirmity, or other good cause, from taking an active part in the war, would be well employed in discussing these and kindred questions, and endeavouring by clear thinking to create a sound public opinion in this country. To quote from the recent work of a well-known Irish author: "What too many people in Ireland mistake for thoughts are feelings. It is enough for them to vent like or dislike, inherited prejudices or passions, and they think that when they have expressed feelings they have given utterance to thoughts."

Mr. Stanuall, our President, read two interesting addresses, one on November 13, 1914, on "The effect of the War upon Irish Agriculture," and the second on November 19, 1915, on "The Example of Belgium—A possible effect of the war upon Ireland."

In these addresses he advocated the increase of tillage, including foodstuffs for cattle, a dead meat trade with England, and the utilisation of by-products commonly called offal, instead of exporting fat cattle and stores; he showed how Belgium by industry, intensive culture, co-operation,

and cheap transport, had become self-supporting, and held it up as an example which Ireland might follow. Professor Oldham read two very interesting papers on "The Finance of the War, and the Economic Interests involved in it." Professor McWeeney, our great authority on Bacteriology, contributed a very valuable paper on "Immunity against Infectious Diseases with special reference to Anti-Typhoid Inoculation." This paper was reprinted as a pamphlet and widely circulated amongst members of the R.A.M.C., and others.

Mr. Doyle, Assistant Registrar-General, and our Honorary Treasurer, in a paper on "Housing" discussed the methods to be adopted for the improvement of working-class dwellings in cities, a subject which is ever present to us in Dublin.

Mr. Shannon Millin dealt with another pressing subject, "Child Life as a National Asset," and Mr. Arthur Williamson, Principal of the Rathmines School of Commerce, concluded last session in June with a very interesting paper on "Post-War Functions of Commercial Education." This paper was to have been read on April 28th, but, owing to the Sinn Fein Rising, no meeting could take place at 93 Stephen's Green. I learned afterwards that our President, Mr. Stanuell, was courageous enough to go to the place of meeting, and returned home safely. It will thus be seen that though our meetings in 1915 and 1916 were fewer owing to the war, the subjects discussed were of prime importance.

### **Proceedings at British Association at Newcastle.**

In carrying on during the war we have only followed the examples of the Royal Statistical Society in London and of The British Association for the Advancement of Science, with both of which we are in correspondence. At the meetings of the Association at Manchester in 1915, and at Newcastle in 1916, which I attended as a delegate of our Society, many interesting questions bearing on the war formed the subject of the proceedings of Section I'. (Economic Science and Statistics). The greater part of the transactions of this Section at Manchester in 1915 were published in book form by the authority of the Council under the title "Credit, Industry, and the War," edited by Professor Kirkaldy (London, Pitman, 1915). The proceedings of the Section in Newcastle were opened by an address from Professor Kirkaldy, entitled "Some Thoughts on Reconstruction after the War." This was followed by the presentation of a Report on "Means for

promotion of Industrial Harmony," in which Professor Scott, Sir Hugh Bell, Lord Grey, Mr. Aneurin Williams, Mr. Jackson and others took part. Professor Kirkaldy's Address, and this Report, entitled "Industrial Unrest," will be found in a book published by the authority of the Council, entitled "Labour, Finance, and the War" (Pitman, 1916). The following is an abstract of the Report of the Committee:—

**Industrial Unrest.—Abstract of the Report of the Committee,** consisting of Professor A. W. Kirkaldy (Chairman), Mr. E. J. W. Jackson (Secretary), the Rt. Hon. Charles Booth, the Rt. Hon. C. W. Bowerman, Sir Hugh Bell, Sir C. W. Macara, the Ven. Archdeacon Cunningham, Professors S. J. Chapman, E. C. K. Gonner, W. R. Scott, and Messrs. S. Ball, H. Gosling, Howard Heaton, and Pickup Holden.

The Report was drawn up in three sections:—

- A. The causes of industrial unrest.
- B. Attempts at diminishing industrial unrest.
- C. Recommendations.

#### A. Causes.

1. The desire for a higher standard of living.
2. The desire of workpeople to exercise a greater control over their lives, and to have some determining will as to conditions of work.
3. The uncertainty of regular employment.
4. The monotony in employment.
5. Suspicion and want of knowledge of economic conditions.
6. The complaint that some labour is irregular and less satisfactory.
7. The effects of war measures.

#### B. Attempts at Diminishing Industrial Unrest.

These include:—

1. Conciliation and Arbitration Boards.
2. Arbitration (a) Voluntary.  
(b) Compulsory.
3. Profit-sharing and co-partnership.
4. Co-operation.

#### C. Recommendations.

The aim of this investigation was to discover certain general principles which must underlie an harmonious



economic organisation. Before the problems of industrial unrest can be solved, these principles must be applied to particular industries. With their special application this Committee has not dealt, and the recommendations put forward include only broad principles possible of wide application.

They may be divided into groups as they concern:—

1. The general attitude and outlook of employers and workmen.
  2. The machinery for dealing with disputes.
  3. The organisation of industry.
  4. Post-war arrangements.
1. (i) That there should be greater frankness between employers and workpeople, and that they should discuss industrial matters together or through duly accredited representatives.  
(ii) That employers should consider the cost of labour, and not the wages earned by individual workmen.  
(iii) That the fundamental facts and principles of industrial and economic life should be known by both.
  2. (i) That employers and workpeople should improve their organisations with a view to determining jointly the conditions under which industries should be carried on.  
(ii) That in each industry permanent boards or committees be set up to consider all matters of common interest.  
(iii) That there be a joint National Board to which local boards could refer unsettled disputes.
  3. (i) That the necessity for co-operation between employers and employed be recognised by both.  
(ii) That employers establish:—
    - (a) Associations of one trade in a given district.
    - (b) National Associations of one Trade.
    - (c) Local Federations of Trades.
    - (d) National Federations of Trades.

((b) and (d) being organised under a system of representation.) That workpeople establish unions and federations corresponding to the above.

- (iii) From the two National Federations there be elected an Industrial Council.
  - (iv) That the State give recognition to approved associations, unions, and federations under carefully devised regulations, the State being the representative of the consumer and of the community.
- 4 (i) On demobilisation, that district boards of really practical men be established to consider and adjust difficulties, especially as to replacement in industry of men who have joined the Forces.
- (ii) As to agreements and regulations in abeyance for the period of the War. The industrial community will have an opportunity for considerable reconstruction. The new organisation suggested should take this in hand.

On the second day the Section was engaged in the consideration and discussion of a Report on the replacement of men by women in industry, of which the following is an abstract:—

**Replacement of Men by Women in Industry.—Abstract of the Report of the Committee,** consisting of Professor W. R. Scott (Chairman), Mr. J. Cunison (Secretary), Miss Ashley, The Rt. Hon. C. W. Bowerman, Professor S. J. Chapman, Ven. Archdeacon Cunningham, Mr. W. J. Davis, Professor E. C. K. Gonner, and Mr. St. G. Heath.

The activity of the Ministry of Munitions, the schemes for the “dilution of labour,” and the scarcity of skilled male labour have brought about in the second year of the war a marked development in the demand for female labour. At the present time (July, 1916) over half a million women have replaced men who have left their occupations for more urgent national service.

The women who have taken the men's places have for the most part had previous industrial experience, though seldom (in industry proper) of the kind of work they are now doing. Many of them are married women, or single women transferred from other occupations. Generally the supply has been drawn from the neighbourhood, but some of the munitions establishments have attracted women from a wide geographical area, not always limited to the British Isles.

Besides the employment of women on trams and rail-

ways, in banks, and as postal servants (positions open to the public view), replacement has occurred through the whole of industry. Few women are to be found taking the place of highly skilled men; but large numbers have released the unskilled and those termed, in engineering, "semi-skilled." But when the work of the men involved a degree of skill and experience which women seldom possess, new machinery of a more automatic kind has been introduced (sometimes to such an extent as almost to transform an industry), and subdivision of processes has changed highly skilled work into a series of repetition operations which can be accomplished by relatively untrained workers. This has to be borne in mind when women are stated to be doing the work of skilled men.

The success of the women on these repetition processes is marked. They learn quickly; they are good time-keepers; they have, so far at least, stood the strain of long hours extremely well, and their manual dexterity enables them to achieve good results in the way of output on repetitive processes. On work demanding greater judgment and adaptability the evidence of their success is not so great; but their industrial training has been short.

For some time the employment of women on men's processes was opposed by Trade Unions, which still in some industries bring forward strong objections to replacement. But in the most important industries agreements have been reached between men and employers as to the conditions on which replacement may be carried out during the period of the war. Those conditions usually include an agreement as to women's wage-rates and a guarantee of the re-employment of the men replaced.

The wages of women in war-time have been influenced by the fixing of a minimum for certain kinds of munition workers in certain classes of munitions establishments; by the competition of munitions with other industries in the demand for female labour; by the pressure of the Trade Unions; and by the general rise in prices. The fact that even in districts where the competition of munitions is keenest the wage-rates for women in other industries, on processes involving similar skill and exertion, have not always risen to the munition level, suggests that the withdrawal of the minimum regulation twelve months after the war will lead to a fall in women's wages. But it is unlikely that they will fall to their general pre-war level.

The fact that not a great proportion of the women war workers were previously occupied suggests that after the war the problem of a large surplus of women may not be so serious as has been feared. The married women are for the most part in industry only for the period of the war; and inquiry among women workers generally shows that many of them have no desire to remain in competition with men. But this involves the question of the increased demand for women on repetitive processes; and if, as seems likely, the subdivision of processes and the highly automatic machinery introduced owing to war conditions have come to stay, there may be a change in the relative demand for skilled and for unskilled labour to the disadvantage of the former.

The Report in full will be found in the book to which I have just referred and well deserves persusal.

The third day was devoted to the consideration and discussion of a Report on the Effects of the War on Credit, Currency and Finance. It dealt with Credit, Currency, Prices, Foreign Exchanges, Economy, Individual and National, and War Taxation and Finance. I take the following on the last two subjects from the Abstract. The Report in full will be found in the book I have referred to.

#### VI. Economy, Individual and National.

There are various types of saving which are of unequal value to the nation. Mistakes arise from thinking in terms of money. We ought to think "in terms of commodities." It is clear that the best saving is in imported goods; next in goods which "are produced under conditions of diminishing return"—e.g., "saving in the use of wool, coal, food of all kinds, cotton, etc., is highly beneficial." Economy in public expenditure is "even more necessary."

#### VII. War Taxation and Finance.

Report discusses relative advantages of financing war by loans and by taxation. It is a matter of some doubt whether much additional revenue can be obtained by further taxation of commodities except petrol and spirits. If further revenue is required it must be obtained by a more scientific and equitable income-tax. At present taxation of working-classes is based on their consumption of necessities (apart from tobacco and intoxicants); canon of "ability to pay" ignored. Amount of tax paid by working man through sugar, tea, and other duties depends on size of his family and not of his income.



Conclusion.—Contributions required from working-classes should be taken by income-tax on wages collected through the employer at time of payment

### Irish Problems.

The social problems which press for consideration in Ireland, and especially in Dublin, are so numerous that I can only deal briefly with some of them, but in the consideration of them it is well to bear in mind the suggestions contained in these Reports. Industrial Unrest, as it is termed, has existed and exists in this country, and especially in Dublin, but from the different circumstances which prevail it is not so large a question as in England. Dublin has been the scene of many conflicts between labour and capital resulting in strikes, but these have for the most part been strikes of unskilled labourers engaged in the work of distribution or transport, not of skilled labourers engaged in the work of production, as in England. We have lately had a strike in the building trade, which delayed for a considerable time such operations as could go on during the war, for now no building costing over £500 can be erected without the consent of the Ministry of Munitions. The bakers threaten us with a strike, and the latest form of strike is that of the gravediggers at Glasnevin. As I write there seems a prospect of a settlement in the case of the bakers, as the Board of Trade has, under the powers conferred by the Conciliation Act, 1896, appointed a person to act as conciliator. That Act is called "An Act to make better provision for the preservation and settlement of trade disputes" S. 1 provides for the registration of Conciliation Boards constituted for the purpose of settling disputes between employers and workmen by conciliation or arbitration. S. 2, empowers the Board of Trade, when a difference exists *or is apprehended* between an employer and workmen, or between different classes of workmen (a) To enquire into the causes and circumstances of the difference; (b) to bring about a meeting of the parties or their representatives under the presidency of a chairman agreed on or nominated by the Board with a view to an amicable settlement of the difference; (c) on the application of either party to appoint a person to act as conciliator, or (d) on the application of both parties to appoint an arbitrator.

(2) The conciliator is to inquire into the causes and circumstances of the difference by communication with the parties, and otherwise endeavour to bring about a settlement of the difference, and report his proceedings to the Board of Trade. The words "*or is apprehended*" are im-

portant as they enable the Board to intervene before a difference exists. The Munitions of War Act, 1915, provides for the settlement of differences in-respect of employment on munition work and makes the award on any settlement binding on employers and employed, and imposes a penalty for failing to comply with the award. It also prohibits lock-outs or strikes in connection with such differences, unless the difference has been reported to the Board of Trade, and 21 days have elapsed since the date of the report, and the difference has not during that time been referred by the Board of Trade for settlement, and imposes a penalty for acting in contravention of this enactment.

The Report on Industrial Unrest comments on this introduction of compulsory arbitration, and affirms that on the whole both labour and capital are strongly opposed to the principle, though they accepted its introduction as an emergency measure during the war.

A few years ago we had a strike among railway workers, following on a railway strike in England, which was terminated by Government intervention, whereas the strike on our railways came to an end without any such intervention. The most serious strikes in Dublin have been of quay labourers and carters, by which the unloading of ships and the transport of goods were held up with serious loss, not only to shipowners and merchants, but to the public, and, of course, to be labourers themselves.

Employment at docks and quays is fluctuating, and especially so in Dublin, and the uncertainty of regular employment conduces to industrial unrest. Unskilled labour unfortunately prevails to a large extent in Dublin, and how to improve the condition of this class is one of the most serious problems we have to deal with, and try to find some solution of it, if there be one. A very able contribution to this subject was made by Mr. Chart in a paper entitled "Unskilled Labour in Dublin, its Housing and Living Conditions," on March 6, 1914, which will be found in volume xiii. of the Society's Journal, p. 160. He there states that about 24,000 men, more than a quarter of the adult male population, were engaged in unskilled labour. He points out that quay labour has been decasualised in Liverpool, thus removing one great cause of unemployment. I may add that unemployed insurance might assist also in this connection. Technical education and manufacturing industries Mr. Chart suggests as partial remedies, but there is no doubt that the main thing to be attempted is to improve the housing and living conditions of this class of labourers. A good indication of the industrial position of the City and of the opportunities of em-

ployment for the working classes is contained in the Report of the Departmental Committee appointed by the Local Government Board to inquire into the housing conditions of the working classes in the city. I quote from p. 8—"Dublin does not lend itself to comparison with the large manufacturing centres of the United Kingdom. There is no predominating industry affording employment to a large portion of its population; and, apart from brewing, distilling, the manufacture of soda water and biscuits, it has no special trades of its own, the other trades carried on being mainly those which are essential to supply the requirements of every community." It appears from the Table given on page 8 of that Report that of the heads of the 25,822 families occupying the 5,322 tenement houses in the city only 4,573 are working at rates regulated by Trades Unions, and 8,246 at wages not regulated by Trades Unions. 1,542 are labourers, 1,195 charwomen, 906 old age pensioners, owners 639, so that the earnings of the majority are likely to be of the lowest. The figures supplied by the Corporation show that 20,108 families occupy one-roomed dwellings, or 78 per cent. of the entire lettings; and of this number of families, 12,042 families consisting of 73,973 persons occupy one room, which gives an average number of occupants per room for these 12,042 families of 6.1.

The want of sufficient sanitary accommodation for these tenement houses is notorious. The Corporation Bye-laws provide that there is to be one water-closet for 12 persons, a very insufficient requirement; but it appears from the return contained in Appendix XXV. of the Report that of the 5,322 tenement houses, 1,161 have only one water-closet to 20 or more persons. This Report, as regards Tenement Houses, was considered by a Committee of this Society, and its Report was read on March 27th, 1914, and will be found in Vol. XIII., p. 176. The consideration of schemes for building new dwellings was deferred until the Appendix to the Report was published, which took place later in the year. Meantime the War came, and with it the necessity for economy in public as well as personal expenditure, and our Committee did not further consider to Report as regards the erection of new dwellings.

The Returns contained in Appendix X. of the Report show an annual loss on all the Building Schemes, save one, which loss has to be charged to the rates, the deficit in 1913 in the case of the Foley Street Dwellings amounting to £2,389 18s. 4d.; and yet the Corporation are proceeding with the additional schemes referred to in the Report. Not being able, owing to the war, to obtain a loan from the

Board of Works, they have arranged to borrow a large sum from American lenders at a high rate of interest to carry out two other schemes, at Fairbrothers' Fields and on the McCaffrey Estate. These schemes in all probability will result in a further loss and burden on the rates, already too high, the average rate for the past ten years having been 10/5 for the North Side and 10/1 for the South. The Report states that the Corporation schemes are incomplete and too scattered, as they often deal with small areas when larger ones could have been undertaken with more advantage, and suggests building on the outskirts, and the submission to the Local Government Board of a complete scheme of housing for the working classes in the city. It recognises the economic objection to the municipality undertaking building on so extensive a scale, but suggests that as the legislature has sanctioned the making of grants to build houses for rural labourers, it should do the same for urban workmen. The Dublin Chamber of Commerce has appointed a Housing Reform Committee to carry out reforms on the lines of the Report, and it is to be hoped that it may influence the Corporation to carry out the recommendations of that Report. What is wanted at present is a stringent enforcement of the Bye-laws, the closing of houses unfit for habitation by Magistrate's order, and the enforcement of penalties for nuisance as defined by the Public Health Act, 1878, which provides that any house, or part of a house, so overcrowded as to be dangerous or injurious to the inmates is deemed to be a nuisance. One-roomed tenements should be abolished as far as possible, and the house converted into flats, with separate sanitary conveniences for each flat. Illustrations showing how this can be done were shown on the plans submitted by Mr. Fisher Unwin at a lecture on "A Town Plan for Dublin," delivered by him on November 17th, 1916. These plans were the work of competitors for a prize offered by Lord Aberdeen for the best Town Planning Scheme for Dublin, and which was awarded to Professor Abercromby, of Liverpool. They are to be exhibited in some place accessible to the citizens. Vistas of new streets, new railways, with a central station, new public buildings and gardens, were thrown upon the screen. They are intended only as suggestions of what might be done to improve and beautify the city. They must, however, be dismissed as Utopian. The designs for small houses and cottages to be built on the outskirts with gardens and open spaces should be of great use in carrying out a scheme such as suggested by the Report. A visit to the neighbourhood of London or Liverpool will show what has been done in the establish-



ment of Garden Cities close to large towns. Pressure should be brought to bear on owners of tenement houses to put them in repair, and convert them into flats with proper sanitary conveniences, or the Corporation might take over the best of them, following the example of the Social Service Societies referred to in the Report, and remodel them. This has been done in Glasgow.

### **Intemperance.**

This is another social evil which calls for treatment, and its prevalence is not unconnected with the housing question, for it is too often found that drink is the cause of the poverty of the occupiers of tenements. Prohibition of the sale of drink is advocated in some quarters, but it is not a practical policy; much, however, could be done by reducing the number of public-houses in our towns, and in Dublin in particular, and in improving those that are left, and making them places for the sale of food as well as of drink. This, of course, involves legislation, the nature of which has often been pointed out in and out of this Society, but it is one of those post-war problems that will demand attention. Meantime, the opportunities of drinking have been lessened by the restriction of the hours of opening public-houses, which have been made from time to time during the war.

### **Rural Problems.**

The most pressing of these is to increase the production of food, and to make the country less dependent on supplies from abroad. This means increase of tillage, the need of which has already been adverted to. This need is accentuated by the regulations just authorised to be made by the Board of Trade with regard to food supplies. It is, however, difficult to get the Irish farmer to change his habits and his method of using his land. It was said that when he was converted from a tenant into an owner, the magic of proprietorship would induce him to till the soil more than before, and to get as much out of it as he could. As a general rule, this anticipation has not been realised. It is less trouble to keep land in grass, and to meadow or graze it. The Co-operative movement initiated by the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society has done a good work, and the operations of the Congested District Board in the Congested Districts, and the Food Production Campaign initiated by the Department of Agriculture in 1915, have shown what can be done in this way. The Irish farmer is now, owing to the war, getting high prices

for his live stock and for his produce. He is not affected as the English farmer is by the withdrawal of labourers for active service. Co-operation is necessary to ensure cheap transit and a good return for his produce. If more labour is required by individual farmers, it may be obtained from the surplus population of our towns, which has been increasing from time to time, while the rural population has been diminishing, and especially by the employment of women. This would tend to ease the housing and living and conditions of workers in towns, and improve the position of those who continued to live there. An example as regards this last has been set in England, where women are largely employed upon the land, as well as in the towns.

### Women Workers and the War.

This gives me an opportunity of referring to the question dealt with by the Report of the British Association, an extract of which I have given, namely, *The Replacement of Men by Women in Industry by reason of the War*.

In the first two or three months of the war, owing to a severe industrial depression, there was a falling-off of the number of women employed in industrial occupations, and it was not till April, 1915, that the figures for female employment reached the pre-war level. Three circumstances came to their aid—(1) the Government demand for great quantities of Army clothing, food, leather, etc.; (2) the demand for munitions; and (3) the growing demand that women should undertake men's work, which was followed by a relaxation of Trade Union rules.

By the beginning of 1916 practically the whole of the easily available reserve of female labour had been drained, and scarcity of women began to be reported in many industries, particularly in those which, in ordinary times, are the special field of women's employment.

In July, 1914, the number of occupied women in the United Kingdom, as estimated from Board of Trade returns, was 5,020,000. In mid-April, 1916, the number had risen to 5,490,000, an increase of 470,000 in twenty-one months of war. This increase, compared with what the normal increase in that time would have been, calculated according to the Census Returns for 1901 and 1911, viz.: 94,830, is not all due to new workers. Probably fewer women married, certainly fewer women retired from industry on marriage, and former workers, who had retired from industry on marriage, returned for the period of the war. This increase of 470,000 is made up of non-industrial, 182,000; industrial, 288,000. It appears from the above Census

Returns that, while there was in the ten years, 1901-1911, an increase in most groups of industry, there was in that period a decrease in domestic services, agriculture, and clothing. The decline in domestic services and in agriculture continued during the war, the former from 1,695,000 in July, 1914, to 1,593,000 in April, 1916, and the latter from 160,000 to 130,000 for the same dates. But a comparison of the numbers in agriculture in April, 1914, and April, 1916, shows an increase of 37,000 in the two years, and the last Board of Trade Return shows a further increase of 66,000 between April and July, 1916. (See Table below). In clothing trades there is an increase; but there is a decrease in the printing and allied trades, caused by a decreased demand for labour consequent on the restricted supply of paper, and by slackness in the publishing trade. In April, 1916, it was estimated that 523,000 women were directly replacing men, and that 737,000 women were replacing the men either directly or indirectly. There is no contradiction between this figure and the figure 470,000 given above as the net increase in the number of employed women since the beginning of the war.

The Report, from which I have taken this information, contains detailed reports based on evidence collected by investigators in London, Birmingham, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Glasgow, and other cities, and well deserves perusal. The Report points out that there are certain cases in which women are taking up the exact work which the men have left, *e.g.*, women are acting as 'bus and tram conductors, taxi-drivers, ticket collectors on the railways, and postmen. These cases happen to be open to public view, and are obviously simple, direct replacement, and give the impression that women have generally stepped into the men's places. Within industry proper, however, the degrees of replacement are many, and, economically the degree of replacement is important as bearing on the position of female labour after the war.

The following table issued by the Employment Department of the Board of Trade shows the further increase up to July, 1916. It does not include such occupations as nursing the sick and wounded, small dressmaking establishments, and domestic service. Returns of women engaged in nursing the wounded are only available to the end of May, 1916, and since then have, of course, largely increased. Then the total was 30,000. Of these, roughly, 9,000 were employed by the War Office, Admiralty, or in Territorial General Hospitals; 21,000 by the British Red Cross Society and the Order of St. John, of whom 10,000 were voluntary workers.

NUMBERS OF WOMEN DIRECTLY REPLACING MEN IN THE MAIN  
OCCUPATIONS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

OCCUPATIONS.	Estimated Number of Women employed, July, 1914.	Number of Women reported by Employers as directly replacing Males.		Percentage of Replacement (Numbers employed in July, 1914—100).	
		April, 1916	July, 1916.	April, 1916.	July, 1916.
Industrial occupations ..	2,117,000	213,000	263,000	10·1	12·4
Commercial Occupations ..	454,000	152,000	201,000	33·6	44·2
Professional Occupations ..	67,500	12,000	15,000	18·4	21·8
Banking and Finance ..	9,500	21,000	26,000	219·0	270·1
Hotels, publichouses, cinemas, theatres, &c. ..	175,000	27,000	31,000	15·5	17·7
Agriculture (Great Britain) ..	130,000	37,000	66,000	28·5	50·8
Transport (not municipal) ..	15,000	24,000	31,000	160·0	209·3
Civil Service ..	66,000	30,000	38,000	46·2	57·6
Arsenals, Dockyards, &c. ..	2,000	13,000	69,000	674·0	3,440·0
Local Government (including teachers and transport workers under municipal authorities) ..	184,000	18,000	26,000	10·0	14·2
TOTAL ..	3,220,000	547,000	766,000	17·0	23·8

An interesting publication, entitled *Women's War Work*, issued by the War Office in September, 1916, shows the extent and the variety of the operations in which women are engaged. It is illustrated by photographs, showing the marvellous work women are doing for the War. It contains a list of Honorary Secretaries of Women's County Committees for agriculture in England, Scotland and Wales, and of the Board of Trade Women Agricultural Organising Officers. I am not aware of any figures to show to what extent women have replaced men in Ireland.

### Infant Mortality and the Notification of Births Acts, 1907 and 1915.

This subject is intimately connected with the living conditions of our tenement house population. It was referred to in Mr. Shannon Millin's paper on *Child Life as a National Asset*, already mentioned, read on December 17, 1915, but as a good deal of information on the subject has been obtained by me from England and Scotland, which may assist the working of the Notification of Births Acts in Ireland, and throw light on the methods adopted for the protection of Infant Life, I was asked to give the Society the benefit of my investigations. I hope to do so on a future occasion, when I am in possession of further information. I only wish now to make a brief statement on the subject, to show how important it is. The returns made



by Medical Officers of Health in our large towns proved that the mortality of infants under one year old was very great. It was sought to check this by requiring the birth of the child to be notified to the Medical Officer of Health within 36 hours after birth, and this is now obligatory by the Acts above mentioned, save in rural districts in Ireland. The Act of 1915 goes much further, and authorises a local authority with the sanction of the Local Government Board to make arrangements for attending to the health of expectant mothers, and nursing mothers, and of children under 5 years of age. A Committee has recently been appointed by the Dublin Corporation to carry out a scheme with the assistance of two voluntary bodies—the Infant Aid Society and the Women's National Health Association. Questions will arise on the working of this scheme which can well be discussed on the reading of a paper on the subject.

### **Distinction between position of Farmer and Manufacturer.**

The possibilities and prospects of increased crop production were dealt with in the Presidential Address of Mr. E. J. Russell to the Agricultural Section of the British Association at Newcastle. He there says: "The farmer sows his crops for profit, and clearly ought to select the most profitable for the purpose. This can only be done by keeping accounts. No crop ought to be grown that does not pay its way: it should be displaced by one that does." And again: "Besides these improvements in crop production, which affect all farmers, even the best, there are two other ways in which we can hope for further developments. One is to raise the ordinary farmer to the level of the good one. A vast amount of educational work has to be done to spread the knowledge of the best methods, varieties, manures, etc. The other is to extend the area of the land under cultivation. Grass land only produces about one-half of what arable land yields, and it is imperative to the proper development of the country that some of it should be broken up. The farmer knows this, but he does not put his knowledge into practice. There are two main reasons why he does not adopt all possible devices for increasing crop production. In the first place he cannot always afford the risk. There is one fundamental distinction between farming and manufacturing that is often overlooked in discussions on the subject. Except in rare cases—sugar beet and some kind of seeds, the farmer does not grow for contracts, but always for what manufacturers would call 'stock.' The manufacturer makes a contract

to supply certain goods at a certain price, he knows what his machinery will do, he can insure against many of his risks, and get out of the contract if others befall him. He knows to a penny how much he will be paid, and so he can calculate to a nicety how much he can afford to spend, and how far he can go in introducing new methods. Now the farmer cannot do this. He cannot be certain what yield or what price he will get. The whole thing is a hazard which cannot be covered by insurance. Obviously, then, the farmer must leave a big margin for safety, so he balances his risks by laying down some of his land in grass where the risks are at a minimum. But when you ask him to intensify his methods and, as a necessary corollary, to break up some of his grass land, he has a perfect right to ask who is going to bear the extra risk " Mr. Russell then gives Mr. Middleton's striking comparison between the average farm produce in Germany and in Great Britain, showing that each hundred acres of cultivated land

In Great Britain	In Germany
Feeds 45 to 50 people	Feeds 70 to 75 people
Grows 15 tons of corn	Grows 33 tons of corn
„ 11 tons of potatoes	„ 55 tons of potatoes
„ 4 tons of meat	„ 4½ tons of meat
„ 17½ tons of milk	„ 28 tons of milk
„ Negligible quantity of sugar	„ 2¾ tons of sugar

He comments on this as follows:—" The German cultivator is not better than ours, nor is he more enterprising, neither is his soil or his climate better. The result is attained because in Germany the risks are balanced when only one-third of the cultivated area is in grass, leaving two-thirds for arable cultivation; whilst here the farmer believes they can only be balanced by putting two-thirds of the land into grass, and leaving only one-third for arable cultivation."

Mr. Russell is referring to the English farmer. But what about the Irish farmer, who has a much smaller fraction in tillage, and sometimes none?

Mr. Russell adds:—" It is essentially a question of distribution of risk, and it ought not to be beyond the political insight and economic wisdom of those whose business it is to settle these matters." The second factor which operates against the most intense production, Mr. Russell says, is that agriculture is more than a trade, it is a mode of life. " The farmer lives on the top of his work, he has few evenings away from it, no week-ends, not much holiday, and still less prospect of retiring on a fortune; his life has to

centre on his farm. Few people set out solely to make money, and most farmers and landowners look to find their pleasure as well as their profit on their land. And so it comes about that things are not always arranged to ensure the maximum of crop production. Trees and hedges are left because they make up a pleasing landscape; excuses are found for them, and in some places they may be really useful, but over much of the country the land would produce more without them. Copses are left, pheasants are bred, foxes and hares are preserved, and rabbits spared, not because they add to the food-supply, but because they minister to the pleasure of the countryside, and in spite of the facts that the crops would be bigger without them, and that the plague of sparrows might be considerably less if it were not for the gamekeeper.

“It would be wholly unreasonable to expect the farmer to lead to a life of blameless crop-production unrelieved by any pleasure, and it would be social folly of the highest order to make the young farmer exchange the innocent pleasure of an occasional day's shooting or hunting in the country for the night's pleasure in town. I am not going to attempt to justify the syndicate-shoot or the reservation of great areas of land for the pleasure of a few. But I think we shall always have to be content with getting less crop-yields than the land might produce because we must always keep up the amenities and the pleasures of the countryside. We must maintain the best equilibrium we can between these somewhat—but not wholly—conflicting interests.

“And as agriculture strikes more deeply at the roots of human life than any mere trade, so agricultural science possesses a human interest and dignity that marks it off sharply from any branch of technology; it is, indeed, one of the pillars of rural civilisation. For the farmer's daily task brings him into continuous contact with the great fundamental processes of Nature, and the function of agricultural science is to teach him to read the book of Nature that lies always open before him, and to see something of the infinite wonder of every common object in the fields around him. The investigator in agricultural science is out to learn what he can of these things, and to pass on his knowledge to the teacher, who in turn has to put it into a systematic form in which the young men and women of the countryside can assimilate it. After knowledge comes control. When we know more about the soil, the animal, the plant, etc., we shall be able to increase our crop yields, but we shall lose the best of our work if we put the crop-yield first. Our aim should be to gain knowledge that will

form the basis of a true rural education, so that we may train up a race of men and women who are alive to the beauties and the manifold interest of the countryside, and who can find there the satisfaction of their intellectual as well as their material wants. If we can succeed in that, we shall hear far less of rural depopulation; instead we may hope for the extension of that type of keen healthy countryman which has always been found among the squires, farmers, and labourers of this country, and which we believe was already increasing before the war. With such men and women we can look forward with full confidence to the future."



## THE URBAN CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

BY LIONEL SMITH-GORDON

(Librarian, Co-operative Reference Library, Dublin)

[Read, December 15th, 1916].

The recent remarkable development of the Co-operative Movement has been rendered doubly remarkable by the comparative obscurity in which it has taken place. Most people nowadays who consider themselves to have a fair amount of general education, and who read their daily papers, and even some more formidable organs with conscientious regularity, are able to talk more or less glibly of a number of different economic and sociological policies which occupy prominent positions in modern literature. Thus we hear every day discussions on the relative merits of various forms of socialism, syndicalism, trades-unionism, and other methods by which labour seeks to better its cause by collective action. Co-partnership and profit-sharing are frequently mentioned, and usually confused, and even the more difficult theory of the Guild is not unknown as a subject of conversation among people who lay no claim to be experts in these matters. The development of the Joint Stock Company, with the protection of limited liability, and its adaptation to every form of business, has been so universally accepted that nobody thinks of discussing it. Even the growing tendency of the State to assume control of certain industries or services in the public interest has become so familiar, that the mass of people have not shown any reluctance to accept its greatly increased application under the stress of the present war.

In spite of this widely spread knowledge of and interest in various forms of organisation, the average man of the professional and educated classes in the United Kingdom still looks quite blank if he is approached as to his views on the subject of co-operation. He has probably some knowledge of the fact that a doctrine of agricultural co-operation is practised by some well-meaning enthusiasts for purposes which he does not clearly understand; and as the average professional man knows little or nothing of agriculture, he dismisses this movement as being merely an eccentric method derived from foreign countries of growing cabbages which he is not called upon to understand. If pressed further and reminded that co-operation extends also to industrial life, he will probably begin to

speaking vaguely of the advantages or disadvantages derived by one of his cousins from belonging to the Army and Navy or Civil Service Stores or some similar body. It is almost certain that he has never consciously heard of the great English industrial co-operative movement, and the initials C. W. S. will mean nothing to him. These initials are the common name by which co-operators know the Co-operative Wholesale Society of Manchester. The number of people outside the ranks of the artisans who created it who have heard of this society is extraordinarily small, and would lead an inquirer from Mars to believe that it must be a very insignificant body.

The facts, however, do not by any means support this conclusion. The nett sales of the C. W. S. in 1914 amounted to £35,000,000, and its total trade in the fifty years since its foundation in October, 1864, have aggregated close on £535,000,000. In 1914 the share capital of the Society was over £2,000,000, and its total capital, including loans, deposits, and reserve funds, amounted to £9,500,000, while the number of members in the affiliated societies was 2,336,000. These figures, without any further description, are sufficient to show that the Co-operative Wholesale Society must be reckoned among the biggest businesses in the United Kingdom. It had, in fact, in the year 1915, 27,500 employees, 48 productive factories, 3 steamships, and purchasing depots in New York, Montreal, Copenhagen, Aarhus, Gothenburg, Odense, Denia, Herning, Esbjerg, and West Africa, besides a number of centres for agricultural produce in Ireland. This vast business serves as a wholesale agency for the English Co-operative Societies alone. Scotland has its own Co-operative Wholesale Society at Glasgow, which, although on a considerably smaller scale, is itself entitled to rank among the great commercial establishments of the kingdom. The Scottish Society had sales to the value of £9,500,000 in 1914, and a capital of nearly £500,000. The two Wholesales also have a joint purchasing department, which owns tea plantations in Ceylon, and enables them to act as one of the largest, if not the largest, firms of tea buyers in the world.

The whole of this machinery has been built up to meet the needs of the local distributive societies formed by artisans in the industrial centres of the United Kingdom. The number of such societies in 1914 was 1,511, with rather over 3,000,000 members. Their collective liabilities consisted of £43,500,000 share capital, £14,250,000 loans, and £6,500,000 reserve fund. Their assets were on a corresponding scale. They employed 85,000 persons in distribution, and over 63,000 in production, the total wage bill

being £9,250,000, on which amount bonuses were paid to the extent of £94,500. The collective sales of these societies in the year reached the colossal figures of £138,473,025, with a nett profit of £15,204,098. The year 1915 showed an increase of nearly £27,000,000 in sales. Subscriptions for educational and charitable purposes came to nearly a quarter of a million pounds.

It would be wearisome and unprofitable to continue to quote these tremendous figures, which convey very little to those who are not in a position to estimate their human significance by seeing the amount of goods, labour, and services which they represent. Enough, however, has already been said to suggest that this experiment in the re-organisation of industry—for that is what the co-operative movement actually is—has reached a stage at which it merits a more careful consideration from economists and social reformers than it has ever received hitherto.

Before going further, it is desirable to explain this statement by pointing out the essential features which constitute the difference between a co-operative society and an ordinary trading concern. The appearance of one of these large societies in a city such as Birmingham or Leeds is not noticeably dissimilar from that of many of its competitors organised on the ordinary system, nor is the type of trade done in any way original. If we take as an indication of the business dealings of the societies the functions of the C. W. S., as stated in its prospectus, we get the following list:—

Wholesale General Dealers, Manufacturers, Bankers, Insurers, Millers, Printers, Book-binders, Boxmakers, Lithographers, Architects, Engineers, Builders, Shipowners, Butter Factors, Lard-refiners, Bacon-curers, Fruit-growers, Dry-salters, Spice-grinders, Saddlers, Curriers, Cutlers, Iron-founders, and Tin-plate Workers; Tea-growers, Blenders, Packers, Farmers and Importers, Fell-mongers, Dealers in Grocery and Provisions, Drapery, Woollens, Ready-made Clothing, Boots and Shoes, Brushes, Crockery, Carpets, Furniture, Coal, Hides, Skins, Bones, etc., etc.

Manufacturers of Flour, Butter, Margarine, Biscuits, Sweets, Preserves, Pickles, Vinegar, Candied Peel, Cocoa, Chocolate, Tobacco, Cigars, Cigarettes, Snuff, Soap, Candles, Glycerine, Starch, Blue, Paints, Varnish and Colours, Boots and Shoes, Saddlery, Woollens, Clothing, Flannels, Shirts, Mantles, Underclothing, Overalls, Umbrellas, Leather Bags, Corsets, Millinery, Hosiery, Silesias, Shirtings, Colored Cotton goods, Pants, Ladies' Underwear, Cardigans. Furniture, Brushes, General Hardware, Bedsteads, Wire Mattresses, Mats, Fats, etc.

Each and all of these departments have sprung up in response to a demand on the part of the federated societies. It follows, therefore, that Co-operative Societies indulge freely in all these forms of trade. As a matter of fact, they almost invariably begin with groceries, and gradually develop through hardware and haberdashery into general stores on the lines of the Army and Navy or the great American department stores. It is not, therefore, the nature of their trade which makes them worthy of study, but the form of organisation and the objects underlying this trade. For the sake of simplicity let us consider only the grocery business.

Ordinary grocers' shops are of two kinds. The simplest form is the shop which is owned by one man, or by two or three partners. It acts as intermediary between importers and wholesalers, and any customers who may be attracted to it by the price and quality of its goods, the attractiveness of its appearance, the good reputation of its proprietor and staff, or the convenience of its situation. The avowed object of the proprietor in performing this service is to make a living for himself out of the margin between the profits which he is able to obtain from his customers and his out-of-pocket expenses. The amount of this profit is limited by the patience of the customer and the keenness of the competition. In proportion as the competition is sluggish the patience of the customer must be increased, but in any case his interest in the shop is purely that of a man trying to make the best bargain he can with the means at his disposal. Generally speaking, proprietor and customer have nothing in common, unless one can say that their mutual desire to do business on the terms most advantageous to themselves constitutes a bond of sympathy. In the second form, where the shop is owned by a large company, such as Lipton's, or the Home and Colonial, the manager is conducting the business in the interests of shareholders rather than his own private pocket, although, no doubt, his pocket will benefit in proportion to his success. In this case all surplus profits after the payment of expenses, salaries, and fixed charges go to the shareholders, that is to say, they constitute a reward to the capital invested. The interests of the shareholders are even further removed from those of the customers than are those of the proprietor in the smaller concern, since there is no personal contact between them at all.

The service performed by these intermediaries is undoubtedly a necessary one, as in any but the most primitive communities it is obviously impossible for the individual consumer to go direct to the sources of supply or to deal



with a wholesale agency. Furthermore, so long as the service is required, at least a living wage must be paid to those who render it, and this wage must be increased in proportion to the capital invested and the risks taken. Nevertheless, when prices are high and incomes low, and consumers are searching for a means of economizing, it will at once occur to the more thoughtful among them that they are paying a heavy tax to support a class of persons whose industry, since it does not contribute to the increase of the national wealth, may fairly be called parasitic, for services which, with a little more energy, they might perform for themselves.

The co-operative movement is the concrete expression of this theory. A Co-operative Society is an association of consumers combining to substitute their collective effort for that of the paid middle-man. In a large Co-operative Society all the same machinery must be created as is required in an ordinary shop, and the expenses need not be less. But the shareholders, who provide the capital, are the consumers themselves, and all the surplus profits return to those who have created the trade. It is recognised also that the reward due to capital has its limits, and 5 per cent. is the maximum interest payable on shares. The remaining distribution is made in proportion to the amount of goods which each customer has purchased from his society. The dividend, which plays so large a part in the economy of the co-operative movement, is, in fact, a bonus or rebate on purchases. Looking at the matter from another point of view, we may say that the Co-operative Society makes no profits. It simply sells goods to its members at cost price plus necessary expenses. But since a reserve must be accumulated to provide for unseen contingencies, and since to sell at cost would provoke a bitter war with competitors, it is usual to sell at the current price and accumulate the surplus till the end of the quarter or half-year, when it is returned to those to whom it really belongs in the form described.

As the share capital of a Co-operative Society is made up of £1 shares, which, as a rule, may be paid in quite small instalments, it is possible for the dividends or bonuses to be allowed to accumulate in the member's name as share capital until he has sufficient paid up. Shares being as a rule withdrawable, this device promotes thrift, by enabling the members to use their share account with the societies as a form of savings bank. By this means their small savings draw interest at 5 per cent., and at the same time provide the capital which enables them to buy economically.

The democratic organisation of Co-operative Societies, the fact that they do not make profits but simply effect an economy in distribution and their claim to promote thrift among the artisan class, have received a certain recognition from the Government, in so far as societies registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act have enjoyed immunity from certain stamp duties and also from Income Tax, which applies to Joint Stock Companies. Under the theory described above, co-operators should not be called upon to include the dividends received by them from Co-operative Societies in their statement of income, as these dividends are not an addition to their income but merely an economy in the method of spending it. It was further recognised, when the exemption was originally granted, that most of the individuals composing one of these societies had not incomes large enough to come within the scope of the Income Tax Act as it then stood, and that it would be manifestly unjust to penalise them for joining together to effect an improvement in the method of disposing of the small incomes they received. It is easy to understand, however, that this exemption has been a source of great grievance to competing traders, and during the last two years a most determined effort has been in progress to get the law altered. A step in this direction has, in fact, already been taken by the decision of Mr. McKenna—that Co-operative Societies should be subject to the provisions of the Act governing excess profits duty. This is surely a remarkable ruling from a Minister representing a Government which has long admitted that Co-operative Societies do not make profits, whether excess or otherwise. Most of the large Societies have answered it by the obvious expedient of distributing practically all their surplus in quarterly dividends, or else by lowering their prices and consequently lowering the surplus. Wherever this latter method has been adopted it has naturally caused serious inconvenience to the local traders, who must have found the concession made to them by the Government a rather embarrassing one. But the campaign for subjecting societies to income tax gathers strength daily, and as the leaders of the co-operative movement are fully alive to the danger and are organising their forces to meet it, the probabilities are that we shall see a pitched battle on this subject immediately after the war, which will bring the co-operative movement into more prominence than it has hitherto achieved.

Before going further into the history of the movement, it may be well to state as clearly as possible the fundamental features by which we distinguish a true Co-operative Society from any other form of organisation. The word

"Co-operative" has been very loosely used to signify any association of effort, or, perhaps, it would be more exact to say that it has been given a strictly technical sense by the followers of a certain doctrine, while it remained a general word in our vocabulary. The confusion is unfortunate, for as there is no provision in the law to prevent the use of the word, many organisations describe themselves as co-operative when they are not so in any sense, and the movement as a whole suffers in consequence.

The following points may be taken as essential to a society which claims to be genuinely co-operative. First, the number of members and the amount of capital shall be unlimited. Second, every member shall have one vote and no more than one, without respect to the amount of his share-holdings, and there shall be no voting by proxy. Third, the interest on share capital shall be limited to 5 per cent., and no member shall hold shares to the value of more than £200. Fourth, all further division of profits shall be in proportion either to trade or labour and not in proportion to share-holdings.

These four principles constitute the basis of what is known throughout the world as the Rochdale system. On this system practically the whole fabric of the modern movement has been built up. It will be seen that what is aimed at is an absolute equality in control and a thoroughly equitable division of the savings effected on the assumption that these savings have been rendered possible by trade and labour alone.

Hundreds of attempts have been made in many countries to create societies on a co-operative basis while ignoring one or other of these points. A striking example may be found in the first Civil Service Supply Association and the Army and Navy Co-operative Society in London. Both of these institutions were based on the example of Rochdale, but they contented themselves with selling their goods at a somewhat lower price than that obtaining for the same quality elsewhere. The profits which arose after the first few years were distributed in the ordinary way in interest on share-capital, and as a result these institutions are now managed entirely by a small group of shareholders, earning enormous returns on their capital. Although they are most satisfactory establishments from many points of view, they are no more to be classed as co-operative than Harrod's or Selfridge's.

For these reasons the advocate of Co-operation, even at the risk of being thought to be very doctrinaire, must insist upon the carrying out in the rules of his society of the cardinal points of the Rochdale System. Most of these

have, in fact, passed into Law through the Industrial and Provident Societies Acts of 1862 and 1893, which, imperfect and clumsy though they are, have given a definite standing to co-operative societies.

To sum up the essentials of such a society in a short definition has so far baffled everyone. Perhaps the best definition which has been achieved, although it is by no means complete, is the statement that a Co-operative Society represents a union of persons, while a Joint Stock Company is a union of capitals. From the point of view of any person trained in financial or commercial matters, the most striking fact about the system, which goes to bear out this definition, is that the capital and membership is unlimited. As a corollary to this, the shares can never go above par, and will never be traded in on the market, for the obvious reason that any person desiring to join the Society can obtain a share from the Committee at its par value. This fact, taken together with the limitation of interest and of aggregate share-holdings, provides a sufficient guarantee that no person will be induced to join a co-operative society from capitalistic motives. It may be supposed that, as a result of these facts and also of the class of persons who form the bulk of membership, societies would have difficulty in obtaining sufficient capital to conduct their business. In practice, the contrary has proved to be the case. Payment by instalments, the protection of limited liability which is enjoyed by all societies under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act, and the convenience of withdrawable shares bearing a certain 5 per cent. interest, have resulted in the members making use of the share register of their society as a means of depositing all their surplus funds. The balance-sheets of large English Societies show that hundreds of pounds are invested in shares every month and almost equal quantities withdrawn. In this way, the societies practically do a banking business without submitting to the increased restrictions laid upon those which declare banking to be one of their functions. So great has been the influx of capital obtained in this way that many societies have introduced regulations intended to discourage members from investing any more, a fact which points to some defect in the general organisation of the movement.

No attempt will be made in this paper to trace the history of the business development of the Industrial Co-operative Movement. Several excellent books dealing with this subject are already in existence, and although the history contains many exciting and instructive chapters, any effort to condense it would result in a tedious recitation



of dates and figures. The inner history which, perhaps, not even the Minutes reveal, of an individual society, is usually eventful, for it must be admitted that administration by democratically elected committees is apt to provide plenty of incident; but the records of progress which the same society issues to the world year by year are edifying only to the statistical enquirer or the enthusiast. I shall therefore confine myself to sketching briefly the origins both ideal and practical of the movement and outlining some of the problems which have confronted it in its development.

The Co-operative Movement in all its aspects, industrial and agricultural, sprang originally from the efforts of Englishmen alone, a statement which may surprise many who, owing to the great prominence which has lately been given to the system in its agricultural aspects, have learnt to trace its parentage to Germany or Denmark.\* The first societies of which we have any record were flour mills established in the north of England at the beginning of the nineteenth century to counteract the extortionate price of bread. One of the societies at York was unsuccessfully indicted before a Grand Jury in 1811 when the local millers sought to prove that it was a public nuisance, which, as the historian says, it undoubtedly was—for them. But the real foundations of the modern movement were laid in the same troubled times which gave birth to the Chartists, the Trades Unions, and various Socialistic schemes for re-modelling the control of industry. That is to say in the times of misery and agitation which followed the Napoleonic wars and the Industrial Revolution. The broad facts of the change which took place in industrial conditions at that time are familiar to all. The introduction of machinery and the transformation from home industry to large scale manufacture plunged the labouring classes into a state of depression which not only roused them almost to the point of armed revolution but compelled the pity of those prosperous men who were not utterly selfish.

Among the latter class was a small band of reformers, whose leader, Robert Owen, has attained sufficient fame to make his name vaguely known to most people. But it is not generally realised that practically every modern form of labour organisation sprang directly, or indirectly, from his teaching. Robert Owen was a remarkable example of the

\* In many countries rudimentary forms of association for productive purposes, such as the *fruitières*, or cheesemakers' societies of France, have existed from the earliest times, but the statement in the text is true for what is now technically called co-operation,

combination of practical business sense and success with extreme and almost fanatical idealism. I cannot do better than quote the description of him given by Mrs. Sidney Webb in her short history of the co-operative movement in Great Britain:—"Apprenticed early to a retail shop-keeper, at 19 years of age he had saved sufficient to start as a small master in the Manchester machine-making and cotton-spinning trade. Quickly realising that the new industry required large masses of capital, he abandoned the nominal independence of a small master to become the manager of a large factory. From the position of manager in one firm he became managing partner in another, until he succeeded to the absolute control of the large spinning mill at New Lanark. It was here he tried his first experiments in practical economics. He raised the wages of his workers, reduced the hours of labour from 17 to 10 a day, prohibited the employment of children under 10 years of age. He provided free education, free amusements, cheap provisions, good cottages for his work people and their families. At first his fellow manufacturers watched with contemptuous amazement the deeds of this Don Quixote of the cotton trade; his partners sought separation from this cracked-brained philanthropist intent on personal ruin. He answered these theoretical objections to the Socialist programme—good wages, short hours, free instruction and free amusement—by showing in the course of four years a profit of £160,000 besides paying 5 per cent. on capital employed, and raising the selling value of the factory 50 per cent."

Having done these remarkable things in the business line, Owen devoted his time to an attempt to spread his ideals. He tried first to convert his fellow-manufacturers and afterwards to influence the government. As far as direct results were concerned he was as unsuccessful as might be expected, but, as I have said before, the influence of his teaching is to be seen throughout all modern relations between capital and labour. What concerns us to-night is merely the way in which co-operative stores arose from his inspiration. The basis of all Owen's theories was that profit on cost was a morbid excrescence which had grown upon society as a result of failure to regulate supply exactly in proportion to demand. In other words, he looked forward to a community which should be self-supporting and produce exactly its own requirements, rewarding the labourer according to his labour without any profit in the handling of goods. He did not himself conceive the co-operative store as a step to this policy, for curiously enough he never realised the strength of democracy. Some of his disciples, however, saw the possibility of putting the ideas

into practice in a practical way. So arose the movement for what at the time were called "Union Shops." The first of these was founded in 1828 at Brighton. In their prospectus the founders announce their intention of collecting a small capital by weekly deposits and investing it in goods for re-sale. This process was intended to increase the capital with the following objects:—"The Society will be able now to find work for some of its own members, the whole produce of whose labours will be common property. As the capital accumulates still farther it will employ all the members and then the advantages will be considerable indeed. When the capital has accumulated sufficiently the society may purchase land, live upon it, cultivate it themselves, and produce any manufactures they please and so provide for all their wants of food, clothing, and houses. The society will then be called a community."

This adventure constitutes the link between Owen's Communism and the more prosaic movement of to-day. The Brighton co-operators, though they started with a capital of £5, kept shop for a few years with remarkable success, but when they felt able to attempt the Community a schism arose and one party went away and bought a fishing-boat with their share of the profits. Meanwhile their example had been widely imitated and Owen himself, who at first showed little enthusiasm for these shops, finally entered keenly into the movement and supplemented it by the so-called Labour Exchanges where goods were bought and sold on the basis of the labour they had caused. By 1832 there were four or five hundred co-operative societies in existence, but in the following two years the whole movement collapsed.

The reasons for this collapse are variously given as the lack of legal protection, the disloyalty of the members, and the unbusinesslike methods pursued. But all these factors were present in the Rochdale Store. The difference lay in the invention of the method of selling at current prices and dividing the profits in relation to trade. This device swept away at once the conflict between shareholders and customers and also the perilous necessity of selling at cost price. Exactly who invented it we do not know, but it was put into operation by a group of twenty-eight weavers in Rochdale who, with a capital of £28, opened a shop in Toad Lane in December, 1844, under the official style of the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers—and the local nickname of the "Auld Weyvurs' Shop." These twenty-eight men, some of them Owenites, some Chartists, and some Social Reformers, incorporated in their original rules and practice all the essentials of the modern co-opera-

tive movement. The history of their struggles and success has been well written by Mr. Holyoake. The store is still in existence with a trade running into six figures and the twenty-eight weavers are honoured throughout the world as true pioneers in deed as well as in name.

At this point we will leave the history of the movement. It is one of practically continuous success illustrated by the growth year by year of membership and trade and the foundation of the great federations to which allusion has been made. It may be noted in passing that the C.W.S. owes its foundation, which was not achieved without misgiving and conflict, to the same Rochdale men, one of whom, Abraham Greenwood, worked out the project and finally put it into operation in the year 1865.

The remainder of this paper may be devoted to a consideration of the great questions of principle and policy which have agitated the movement during its seventy years of life. One great controversy overshadows all others, and gives the clue to most of the minor dissensions which have arisen. I refer to the difference of opinion and principle between what are known as the Individualists and the Federalists. This difference may be briefly summarised by stating that the Individualists are interested in man as a producer and the Federalists look upon him as primarily a consumer. The association of workers in a self-governing workshop is an idea which has attracted men in every stage of civilisation. Rudimentary forms of co-operative productive associations have existed from the earliest times. In the years immediately following the famine, a small group of reformers, of whom the names of Kingsley, Ludlow, Maurice, Vansittart Neale and Hughes are preserved, bound themselves together under the style of Christian Socialists to discuss social reform. Their attention was directed to the movement towards self-governing workshops (*Associations Ouvrières*) in France, and they set themselves to promote similar experiments in England. For this purpose they joined hands with existing distributive co-operators and Neale was secretary of the Co-operative Union, the advisory and propagandist federation of the whole movement. From this most well-intentioned combination sprang a division of opinion which might have wrecked everything if the leaders on both sides had not shown extraordinary toleration and honesty of purpose. The greater part of attempts at co-operative production were doomed to failure by lack of capital, custom, and discipline. Nevertheless the Christian Socialists and their descendants continued to claim that no system of co-operation which was not based on labour could be ethical.



Hence there has always been a party within the movement—and this party has included most of the co-operators who were drawn from the class of reformers rather than of strugglers—which has fought against the development of the present system of consumers' associations owning their own land and their own factories and employing labour much like any other capitalists. The struggle has manifested itself in attempts to introduce co-partnership and profit-sharing into the movement and to sustain independent productive associations against the competition of the factories created by the C.W.S. In practice the Federalists have won an overwhelming victory. The co-partnership principle has been abandoned by both the Federations (the Scottish Wholesale took this step only last year) and by most of the Societies; the C.W.S. is steadily monopolising the production of the movement and federations and societies alike are increasingly acquiring their own farms instead of purchasing the produce of agricultural societies, as the Individualists would like them to do.

The principles of the Individualist School are still represented in the Labour Co-partnership Association and the Co-operative Productive Federation. These bodies, whose names are self-explanatory, remain an integral part of the movement and are affiliated to the Co-operative Union. They appear to be more or less prosperous, and there is little friction except occasionally between the C.W.S. and one of the larger independent factories. But the power of these bodies is insignificant compared with that of the Federalists. Meanwhile the employees of the movement have recognised the position by forming a Trades Union of their own and occasionally horrifying co-operators of the Christian Socialist School by bringing about a strike in a Co-operative Society on just the same lines as might obtain in the case of any capitalist concern.

In theory the principles of the Individualistic School cannot fail to be attractive, and anyone who has grown up with the agricultural co-operative movement is almost instinctively driven to regard the C.W.S. and its federated societies as a soul-less octopus bent upon acquiring the farmer's produce by absolutely unco-operative means. But we must face the fact that if we are ever to reach the ideal of a co-operative commonwealth it must be a form of society in which there is only one interest, and a very brief analysis will convince us that this interest must be that of the consumer. Set the co-operatively organised producer and the co-operatively organised consumer to do business with one another and you will find that quite as much friction arises between them as between the individual farmer

and artisan. This difficulty can only be got over by an organisation which includes them all, and such an organisation must evidently be one of consumers. The difficulty in practice is, of course, that complete justice will not be obtained until such an organisation includes the whole nation. This ideal may be as far off as the millennium, but it is at least a definite ideal for which the leaders of co-operation are striving, and it is something for a movement whose main strength lies in the retailing of groceries to have an ideal of this kind in view. Probably the conflict between the two schools of thought has been on the whole good for the movement. The two worst results that it can be accused of producing are a lack of sympathy between agricultural and industrial co-operators, and a confused impression in the minds of the public that co-operators have in some way abandoned their principles because they do not treat their employees as partners. On this last point it may be remarked that practically all societies admit their employees to membership, that the minimum wages endorsed by the Co-operative Union are on a generous scale, and that the rules of all the societies provide that a bonus may be paid to employees at the same rate in the pound calculated on their wages as is paid to members on their purchases, so that co-operators even of the Federalist type cannot be accused of indifference to the claims of labour.

One of the most remarkable achievements of the co-operative movement has been to avoid any entanglement with either religious sects or political parties. From the earliest times the leaders made it clear that the movement was not to be identified with any creed or politics, and the rules of all modern societies contain a clause prohibiting religious or political discussion. Although the example is not strictly relevant it is worth while to note that this principle as applied in agricultural societies has resulted in Ireland in enabling Committees equally composed of Orangemen and Sinn Feiners to conduct their business amicably even during periods of the most bitter feeling. In this respect co-operation has succeeded where every other force has failed, a fact which should have great weight in persuading Irishmen to support its development. But this aloofness from current controversies has not been attained without a struggle, and during the last two or three years the annual congresses held by the Co-operative Union have been agitated by two dangerous topics. The first of these, the agitation by the Women's Guild for a reform in the divorce laws is important only because it has excited violent opposition on the part of Catholic co-operators and thus raised the spectre of religious dissension. The

second, far more important one, has been the demand for amalgamation with the Trade Unions or as it is generally known the programme of "fusion of forces." This question has not yet been finally disposed of; so far the great majority of delegates have consistently voted it down, but the minority are determined and energetic, and we may expect to see the question brought up for discussion again and again.

It is impossible to enter into a discussion of the arguments for and against the programme; it is noteworthy as showing that a considerable body of co-operators are willing to abandon the principle of non-intervention in politics in order to join forces with their fellows in the common cause of labour.

Smaller matters have given rise to difficulties, and continue to do so. Among these may be mentioned the difficulty of enforcing the rule of cash trade, which should be fundamental in the movement. The position of non-members has also been controversial; the almost invariable rule now is to allow them dividends at half the rate paid to members, and to try and induce them to leave these dividends with the society until they have paid for a share. The question of the loyalty of members to their store and of stores to their federation is constantly under discussion, for as is only natural, the competitors of the stores spare no effort to undermine this loyalty, and in spite of the vast increase in the trade of the societies, it is noticeable that the average trade of each member with his society is very little higher now than it was twenty years ago. The fact that societies find themselves embarrassed by too much capital and endeavour to restrict their members' investments, shows that the problems of expansion have not yet been thoroughly faced.

But the most serious menace arises, as is too often the case, out of the very successes of the movement. There has, undoubtedly, been a tendency to look upon the dividend as an end in itself, to consider it as the sole purpose of the movement. Societies pride themselves upon paying 2/6, 3/-, and even 4/- in the pound, and to achieve this result they occasionally sell at inflated prices, and resort to inferior quality and tricks of salesmanship, such as co-operation was primarily intended to abolish. This attitude has a serious practical result, by making the stores useless to the poorer classes who cannot afford to wait for the dividend. It has also a serious moral effect by encouraging a dividend-hunting miniature capitalistic spirit in the members, which is often displayed in their absolute apathy towards the management and general meetings of the

society, except when there is a rumour of a change in the rate of dividend.

We have seen that the co-operative movement originated in the period of transition and hardship following the Napoleonic Wars; such times of stress have, in fact, stimulated co-operation in all countries. It is reasonable, therefore, to expect that co-operation will stand its great test during the lean and troubled years which must follow this war. If it meets this test with the spirit of mingled idealism and common sense which have animated its great leaders, it may go near to gaining the control of industry, but if it clings to the spirit of the dividend-hunter it may continue to afford satisfactory service to a few hundred thousand people, but nothing more. The choice will depend mainly upon education, and it is encouraging to see that the Co-operative Union is tackling the educational problem boldly and generously. An adviser of studies has been appointed to supervise the classes held at Manchester, and to give lectures throughout the country. Summer Schools are held in various parts of the country each year, at which fortnightly courses are given in economics, sociology, citizenship, and co-operation. Next summer one of these schools will probably be held in Ireland for the first time. The system of education proposed is thoroughly sound and thoroughly democratic. It aims at levelling the standards, not by pulling down but by raising up, and if the democracy of England show the right spirit in responding to this opportunity we may have high hopes both for co-operation and for the peaceful settlement of many pressing social problems.

It may seem that Ireland has been deliberately ignored in this paper. We have in this country an agricultural co-operative movement, of which we have every reason to be proud. But we have only recently shown signs of a vigorous imitation of the English industrial movement, for which obviously the character of this country is not so well suited. There are at present not more than fifteen or twenty flourishing industrial societies in Ireland, of which, as might be expected, the majority are to be found in the North-Eastern counties. Belfast, with its 15,000 members and turnover of half a million a year, may challenge comparison with anything in the kingdom, and equally flourishing societies on a smaller scale are to be found at Lisburn, Armagh, Enniskillen and similar places. Dublin has been a city of experiments mostly ill-omened; under the stimulus of war conditions a new one is now in progress which, if successful, will establish the co-operative movement among the upper middle classes who have hitherto held somewhat



aloof. War conditions are also responsible for a great movement towards the formation of new stores all over the country. In one respect Irish co-operators have a unique advantage. They possess in the Irish Agricultural Wholesale Society a federation which serves both agricultural and industrial interests. If the Stores which are now being formed support this federation as the existing agricultural societies are doing, we may be able to bring about a harmony between the two sides of the movement which will bring inquirers here to study this principle of reconciling producer and consumer in the same way as they now come from all parts of the world to study the principles underlying Irish Agricultural Co-operation.

## SOURCES.

The following are a few sources of information which may be consulted by readers who wish to go further into the subject. The list is in no way intended to be exhaustive.

*Potter*, Beatrice (Mrs. Sidney Webb). *The Co-operative Movement in Great Britain.* Sonnenschein, 1904.

*Holyoake*, G. J. *The Co-operative Movement To-day.* Methuen, 1912.

„ „ *The History of the Rochdale Pioneers.* Sonnenschein, 1907.

*Webb*, Catherine. *Industrial Co-operation.* Manchester: Co-operative Union, 1904.

*Redfern*, Percy. *The Story of the C.W.S.* Manchester: C.W.S., 1914.

„ „ *Co-operation for All.* Manchester: Co-operative Union, 1915 (Threepence).

*Annals of the Co-operative Wholesale Societies.* Manchester: C.W.S.

*Reports of Annual Co-operative Conferences.* Manchester: Co-operative Union.

A large number of pamphlets and some of the books mentioned may be obtained from the Co-operative Union, Ltd., Holyoake House, Manchester, and all the literature of the movement may be consulted at the Co-operative Reference Library, The Plunkett House, Dublin. Students are advised to apply to either of these bodies for further information.

## INDUSTRIAL IRELAND UNDER FREE TRADE.

BY PROFESSOR C. H. OLDHAM.

[Read Friday, January 19th, 1917].

When Ireland, by a determined effort, obtained "FREE TRADE" in 1779, this term meant far more than freedom-from-tariff duties, which is the meaning it has to-day. What the British Acts (20 Geo. III., c. 6, 10, 18) then passed did was to grant to Ireland freedom-to-trade where her trade had long been prohibited, provided the Irish Parliament imposed duties at Irish ports equal to those paid in this trade in British ports. Thus, as in Mr. Lecky's description:—"The Acts which prohibited the Irish from exporting their woollen manufactures and their glass were wholly repealed, and the great trade of the colonies was freely thrown open to them. It was enacted that all goods that might be legally imported from the British settlements in America and Africa to Great Britain might be in like manner imported directly from these settlements into Ireland, and that all goods which might be legally exported from Great Britain into those settlements might in like manner be exported from Ireland, on the sole condition that duties equal to those paid in British ports were imposed by the Irish Parliament on the imports and exports of Ireland. The Acts which prohibited carrying gold and silver coin into Ireland were repealed. The Irish were allowed to import foreign hops, and to receive a drawback on the duty on British hops. They were allowed to become members of the Turkey Company, and to carry on a direct trade between Ireland and the Levant Sea." (Lecky's Ireland, ii., 242.) This was, indeed, a great boon of new freedom for Irish trade; but it was not complete freedom—as we shall see.

The epoch of 1779 is, therefore, irrelevant to any argument about the effects of tariffs on trade, whether stimulating or depressing. But it is important as the first step in the direction towards equal trade relations between Great Britain and Ireland; and Lord North, when asking the English Parliament to pass these measures, maintained strongly the novel proposition "*that the prosperity of Ireland must ultimately prove a blessing to England.*"

What is difficult for us, in this twentieth century, to realise about this epoch of 1779 is that English manufacturers were then afraid of Irish competition, feeling convinced that they would be ruined unless they were protected against Ireland. It was the poverty of Ireland which made her seem so formidable a rival: for the cheapness of living, the low wages supposed to be paid,\* and the small taxation then imposed in Ireland were real advantages at a period when manufacturing had not yet been transformed by machinery. However, it was stupid to suppose that any advantages that Irish manufacturers could have derived from Irish poverty would have served to counterbalance the advantages that the English manufacturers must even then have had through their large capital, extended credit, and established skill and reputation. That form of stupidity springs very often from the enjoyment of monopoly.

The Acts of 1779-80 were, of course, an unmixed blessing to Ireland. "Thus fell to the ground that great system of commercial restriction which began under Charles II., which under William III. acquired a crushing severity, and which had received several additional clauses in the succeeding reigns. The measures of Lord North, though obviously due in a great measure to intimidation and extreme necessity, were at least largely, wisely, and generously conceived, and *they were the main sources of whatever material prosperity Ireland enjoyed during the next twenty years.*" (Lecky, *id.*) All the same, 1779 did not give Ireland complete freedom-to-trade: "Ireland had not as yet any real equality of trade with Great Britain." Miss Murray gives details as follows:—

"No British goods were prohibited from being brought into Ireland, and on none were heavy duties placed. . . . With very few exceptions, Ireland at this time imposed a 10 per cent. duty on all articles imported, and a 5 per cent. on all articles exported. The Irish Parliament still regarded the customs as a means of raising revenue, not of affording protection. Very different was the treatment which Ireland received at the hands of Great Britain. Many Irish goods were prohibited by law from being brought into Great Britain at all: these were wrought silks, silk stockings, silk gloves and mittens, leather gloves, lace, fringe, and embroidery, and copper and brass work. At

\* As a fact, it was only very inferior labour which was cheap in Ireland at this time. Superior artisan labour was as dear there as in England. Miss Murray (p. 248) refers, on this point, to Crumpe's "Essay upon the Best Means of Providing Employment for the Poor," pp. 187-8. (Dublin, 1793). And there are other authorities to the same effect. The low taxation was a juster objection.



the same time, the importation from Ireland of the following articles was practically prohibited by the imposition of extremely heavy duties varying from 30 to 60 per cent. : all kinds of woollen cloth, all kinds of stuffs mixed with wool, refined sugars, beer, hops, all cotton manufactures, manufactures of linen and cotton mixed, printed linens, cotton stockings, thread stockings, leather manufactures, tallow candles, starch and soap. The consequence was that the British markets were practically shut against all Irish goods, except provisions and plain linen cloth, which were admitted duty free. . . . Besides being shut out from the British markets, the Irish merchant, although he could now trade directly with the plantations, was not allowed to export plantation produce to Great Britain." (This was due to a particular interpretation put upon the Navigation Acts: Lecky, ii., p. 432). . . . "Ireland was also not allowed to trade directly with the territories included in the East India Company's charter, but had to take all East Indian, Persian and Chinese goods through the medium of Great Britain. Irish subjects, too, were not allowed to trade with the territories between the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan, like British subjects." (This meant India, Australasia, and the Pacific; see "Commercial Relations," pp. 228-30.)

Seeing how much people are misled by words without ascertaining what the words stand for, it was advisable for me to establish that the "FREE TRADE" won by Ireland in 1779 was very different in kind from that freedom-from-tariffs that we understand to-day by the term "free trade." The material progress made by Ireland during the twenty years of Grattan's Parliament would have been impossible without the "freedom-to-trade" that was won in 1779. But "free trade," in the modern sense, did not exist as between Great Britain and Ireland until 1824, when Mr. Huskisson's measures abolished customs on the Cross-Channel traffic.

Accordingly we may regard the years between 1779 and 1824 as a transition-period. The freedom-to-trade of 1779 had to be made secure: being granted by Acts of the British Parliament, that Parliament might repeal what it had done. Hence security depended upon breaking the power of the British Parliament to legislate about Irish Commerce. This was done by two British Acts: one of 1782, which repealed the "Declaratory Act," 6 Geo. I.; and another of 1783, which "renounced" all legislative and judicial supremacy over Ireland. From this time until the Union, England ceased to have power over Irish commerce; and Ireland was able, if she wanted, to prohibit English goods from her ports, or at least to impose very heavy duties on them,

Why did not the Irish Parliament then raise the Irish duties against British goods to at least equal the British duties against Irish goods? The matter was debated, in a full-dress debate in the Irish House of Commons in April, 1784, and the House decided by 123 to 37 votes that Ireland would be safer under a free trade policy. This decision (on a proposal to protect the woollen industry) is very remarkable. It was produced partly by fear that England might have retaliated by refusing to import Irish linens; partly it was the result of an enlightened expediency, since Foster and others proved (by an exposition of free trade principles that could not have been surpassed by Adam Smith himself) that protective duties would "only serve to irritate England without doing any good to Ireland." The Irish statesmen at this time, therefore, made use of bounties for the development of trade, and deliberately refrained from a policy of protective tariffs. (See, for several instances, Lecky, ii., p. 383-7.)

Foster's Corn Law of 1784 and Pitt's Commercial Propositions of 1785 are the next events of importance in regard to Irish economics. At this time the imports from England were under one million, while the exports to England were above two millions and a half. Consequently, a proposal for complete equality of trade between England and Ireland was a much greater boon to the latter than to the former: but Ireland was to purchase it by paying a fixed contribution in time of peace and war to the general defence of the Empire. That was Pitt's idea; and it was one acceptable to Irish statesmen. The Commercial Propositions failed, because the English merchants would not have free trade with Ireland; and because the English Parliament wanted to recover its power to legislate for the commerce of both countries, thereby infringing upon the independence of the Irish Parliament. Mr. Lecky, in his comments upon the whole fiasco of 1785, has a remarkable passage showing that "economical opinion at this time was more enlightened in Ireland than in England": it was so mainly because the whole course of Irish history had tended to exhibit the benefits of a free trade policy, whereas the course of English history had tended to develop a strong bias towards monopoly. From that date on to the Union, "Ireland as a distinct country continued to legislate independently for her commerce, and her Parliament did not show the faintest disposition to interfere with English commercial interests." In the words of Lord Westmoreland, who was Lord Lieutenant in 1790—"No restraint or duty has been laid upon British produce or manufacture to prejudice the sale in this country, or to grasp at any advantage to articles of Irish

manufacture, nor has any incumbrance, by duty or otherwise, been laid on materials of manufacture in the raw or middle state, upon their exportation to Great Britain. At the same time, in everything wherein this country could concur in strengthening and securing the navigation and commerce of the Empire, the Government has found the greatest readiness and facility." (Lecky, ii., pp. 443, 453.)

So we pass on to the Parliamentary Union of 1801. It did not establish free trade between the two countries, but it gave Ireland equality. After 1779, no progress had been made in this direction until 1793: when "the right of Ireland to participate in the East India trade was now fully acknowledged; the Irish Parliament agreed to recognise the monopoly of the East India Company, and when the charter of that Company was renewed for twenty years, provisions were made which substantially, though with some restrictions, removed the grievance of exclusion of which Irish statesmen had hitherto complained. The East India Company undertook that a ship of 800 tons burden should sail annually from Cork to India for the purpose of carrying Irish goods." (Lecky, iii., p. 187.) At this same time, in 1793, Grattan asked for another attempt to be made to settle the commercial relations of England and Ireland on a basis of perfect reciprocity, what had failed to be done in 1785. There were outstanding instances where Irish goods (mostly textiles) were not admitted to Great Britain on fair terms: "England still maintained her woollen monopoly by imposing a prohibitory duty of £2 0s. 6d. per yard on one class of woollen goods imported from Ireland, and of 6s. per yard on another class, while the corresponding duties imposed on these goods when imported from England into Ireland were only 5½d. and 1½d. per yard. Irish printed linens were subject in England to an import duty of 65 per cent., while the corresponding duty in Ireland was only 10 per cent. Cotton goods paid an import duty in England of 30 per cent., in Ireland only 10 per cent."\* Grattan wanted all such inequalities removed, lest a war of hostile tariffs should arise to estrange the two countries. But the Government declined to reopen a question that was so likely to meet with great opposition in England.

The commercial clauses of the Act of Union are contained in Article VI., which is one not easy to summarise: though less complicated than are the financial clauses, contained in Article VII. The equality established between British and

\* Mr. Lecky (iii., p. 187-8) uses "round figures" in this paragraph; for the actual figures, see Miss Murray, p. 230. Thus "65 per cent." is actually £65 10s. 10d. per £100 value; and so on.

Irish commerce may be sufficiently gathered, perhaps, from the following epitome, viz.:—

- (1) Exports from one country to the other were to be free of all duty, prohibitions, or bounties whatever: *corn, meal, flour, and biscuits only excepted.*
- (2) Imports likewise were to be free of all duty, *except for those articles specially enumerated, for which specified import duties were stated, viz.:—*

(a) Ten per cent. *ad valorem* duties (lasting for twenty years) were fixed for eighteen articles, named in a Schedule: "Cotton, other than calicoes and muslins," being one of these eighteen.

(b) "Calicoes and Muslins" imported were, for eight years, to pay the full existing Irish protection-duty (65 per cent. roughly); then, for another eight years, this duty would fall by equal steps, until in the sixteenth year it became ten per cent., at which it would stand till the twentieth year after the Union. The same applied also to "cotton yarn and twist," except that by the sixteenth year the duty would be reduced to zero.

(c) Woollen manufactures, imported into either country, were to pay (for twenty years) the existing Irish importation duty. (5½d. per yard on "Old Drapery"; and about 1½d. per yard "New Drapery.")

(d) Salt, Hops and Coal were not (for twenty years) to pay when imported into Ireland a duty exceeding the existing Irish importation duties on these raw materials.

- (3) When any article was paying in either country an excise (or internal) tax, then if that article were imported from the other country it must pay a countervailing import duty of equal amount to the said excise tax. And when leaving the said "other country," it could claim a draw-back equal to this countervailing duty so taken. Power was reserved for the United Parliament to vary the excise taxation, and consequential countervailing duties, of either country, in the manner provided by the financial clauses of Article VII.
- (4) As regards imports and exports in trade with foreign or colonial countries, each country was to be treated alike, whether they traded directly or traded through the other country's ports.



The text of the Act of Union can be consulted to confirm the essential accuracy of this short summary (see Plowden's "Historical View," Appendix). It shows how nearly the arrangements for equal trade laid down by the terms of the Union approached to an absolute "free trade" between Ireland and Great Britain. The post-Union duties, of only 10 per cent. for the most part, were to guarantee the "protection" of the existing Irish tariff for a period of twenty years after the Union; and, for the same period, Ireland was guaranteed that she would get all the salt, hops and coal she required (being raw materials for important Irish industries) at a tariff-charge "not exceeding" what she was already paying. The tariff could not be raised on these things, but it might be lowered: so Miss Murray is not justified in a criticism she makes, where she says: "Hops, Salt and Coal were for ever to continue subject to the present duties on importation into Ireland" ("Commercial Relations," p. 334). She is right, however, in another criticism, viz.: "None of the commercial terms of the Union gave any preference to Irish goods over foreign as the Commercial Propositions (1785) had done, and so even Irish linens were to have no security against the rivalry of foreign linens in the British markets" (*id*, p. 335). It was, however, important that there could be no prohibition in the future to prevent Ireland from obtaining the use of British wool, and woollen or worsted yarns, and British coal; also that England could no longer give bounties on the exportation of her goods to Ireland.

There can be but small difference of opinion that the effects of the Union were, at the time, most injurious to Irish industry, while being most stimulating to Irish agriculture. And the interpretation usually offered is that the "infant" industries of Ireland were left without protection, so they shrivelled up before the competition of the old-established English industries. Thus, Miss Murray, as if the thing were obvious, writes: "Free trade under certain conditions cannot be an advantage. It could not be an advantage to a poor country like Ireland, in which industries were in their infancy, and which existed side by side in the closest commercial intercourse with a rich country where industries had long flourished." (Commercial Relations, pp. 337, 351.) Now, personally, I do not find this sort of thing helpful in understanding what was happening to Irish industries at this epoch. The commercial clauses of the Union were almost identical with those Commercial Propositions which Irish statesmen had ardently desired to have carried in 1785, and again in 1793: provided only the independent constitution of Ireland were preserved intact.

We have seen that, prior to the Industrial Revolution which applied machinery to manufacturing, it was English manufacturers who had required protection against Irish competition, and not the other way round. The Irish industries were, at this time, not infants; but they were old-fashioned hand-work affairs, which became obsolete when there arrived the new "infants" of that time, the machine-made textile industries born of the "New Inventions." Miss Murray writes (*id*, p. 347):—"It was difficult, if not impossible, for a small Irish manufacturer with little capital to erect the new expensive machinery which British capitalists were beginning to use and which was resulting in such a cheapening of production. As the era of the development of mechanism advanced, Irish manufacturers, more especially the woollen manufacturers, found that they had not the material resources necessary to meet it, and the ruin of the woollen industry was more complete than that which had resulted from the repressive legislation of nearly a century and a half." This seems so obvious, if one only stops thinking! But in all this she is allowing a theory to blind her vision; for the historical facts of the time contradict what she asserts. The rapid rise of the new cotton manufacture in Ireland at this time—she says herself, "for the first quarter of the nineteenth century the cotton manufacture bid fair to become the staple industry of Ireland" (*id*, p. 349)—means that plenty of capital was available for there providing the "new expensive machinery." And again, when the wet-spinning process made machine-methods applicable to the spinning of flax yarns, there was plenty of capital available to erecting the linen factories of the new time after 1828. As for the decay of the Irish Woollen industry after the Union, that will not be understood by any person who does not know the technical distinction between "woollen" and "worsted." These became two quite distinct industries once machinery was applied to their manufactures, and they required quite different kinds of wool. The Irish-grown wool is now quite unsuitable for the woollen machine-processes: it is a worsted wool. But the worsted yarn processes are far more elaborately machined than the comparatively very simple processes of the woollen yarn manufacture; for example, it involves the use of machine-combing, the highly-ingenuous machinery for which is so monopolised, by patents, that the world's business of spinning worsted yarn has to-day become located inside one small area in south-west Yorkshire. After this great technical change, the woollen industry of Ireland had to depend for its raw material on imported wools, and the native wool of Ireland was exported.

My own view is that free-trade had little or nothing to do with the industrial decay which followed the Union in Ireland. We must assume this decay as a matter of fact, though it was probably more in evidence in the city of Dublin, and the decay of the inland country towns came much later.\* No one then understood the economic needs of Ireland better than Mr. John Foster, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons; and his famous speeches against the Union indicate nothing of the dangers of free trade. Speaking on February 17th, 1800, he said: "Can those who now hear me deny that since the period of 1782 this country has risen in civilisation, wealth, and manufacture, *until interrupted by the present war*, in a greater proportion and with a more rapid progress than any other country in Europe, and much more than it ever did itself in a like period before? *And to what has this improvement been owing, but the spirit, the content and enterprise which a free Constitution inspired?* To depress which spirit, and to take away which Constitution, are the objects of the present measure." (Lecky, v., p. 389.) Now the two passages which I have put in italics in this quotation hint at a great part of the explanation we are looking for. The time was most unfortunate for such a change in the constitution of Irish government. Those who have studied the social evils which grew up among the masses of the English people during the long continuance of the French Revolution and Napoleonic Wars will find there a state of things which we cannot rightly suppose that Ireland would have wholly escaped, whether Union or no Union. On the top of the impoverishment due to the Great War, we must heap the far-reaching transformations of the Industrial Revolution, which was now rendering obsolete the hand-spinning employment that had kept the country districts of Ireland at work supplying yarn for the looms of England as well as of Ireland. The rise of spinning factories was sucking into the towns (along the coast, or located on the coal-fields) the old industrial life of the country side both in England and Ireland. The very factors which now enfeebled industry were stimulating agriculture: England had ceased to export corn, and was soon diminishing its own corn-growing. The conditions set up in England by the War necessitated an

\* The Rural Population (*i.e.*, outside Towns of 2,000 inhabitants) was 7,039,659 at Census of 1841, but only 2,919,624 in 1911. For an area of 32,000 square miles the former means 220 persons to the square mile, the latter only 91 persons to the square mile. Now this evacuation of the rural districts caused (I suggest) the decay of the inland country towns; and the main operating cause was *the effect of free trade on agriculture after 1846*. The decay of Dublin, following the Union immediately, was due to the loss of the Parliament.

increasing importation of corn from Ireland: so that "the export trade in cereals to Great Britain was the one Irish trade which prospered greatly after the Union, and which continued to prosper" for many years even after the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846. Just at this critical time—when enterprise, confidence and hope were needed if the opportunities of the new era were to be seized for Ireland's advantage—came the paralysis of the Union: it took the very heart out of Ireland, and substituted the stepmotherly indifference of an alien Assembly for the parental care of a native Parliament.

It is a matter of history that there were three Unions, not one, before Ireland was absorbed into the system of the United Kingdom. In 1800 (by 39 and 40 Geo. III., c. 67) we had the Legislative Union; in 1816 (by 56 Geo. III., c. 98) we had the Union of Treasuries, commonly called the amalgamation of the Exchequers; in 1824 (by 4 Geo. IV., c. 72) we had the Customs Union—the cross-Channel trade was then reduced by statute to the status of a coasting trade, and was made free of all countervailing duties. I am afraid that few persons realise the outstanding importance of the period 1824 in Irish economic history. When Miss Murray wrote—"The economic history of Ireland during the nineteenth century divides itself naturally into two periods, the famine of 1846-7 forming the dividing line"—she was perpetuating a very common blindness. It is a matter of fact, however, that the year 1824 is the pivotal turning-point in the industrial history of Ireland. Just see what was happening in that year.

The post-Union protective duties, amounting to about 10 per cent. *ad valorem*, then ceased (by 4 Geo. IV., c. 26, and 5 Geo. IV., c. 22): by a descending scale ending in 1830; and free trade began between Great Britain and Ireland. In 1824 also (by 4 Geo. IV. c. ) a common system of weights and measures, and of moneys, for both countries was adopted. More important still, in 1824 regular steam navigation first began: viz.—Mr. C. W. Williams then started the City of Dublin Steam Packet Company, trading between Dublin and Liverpool, and the Burns Line started in the same year, trading between Belfast and Glasgow. A journey which the sail-packet from Chester had taken sometimes a week to perform, now became a regular trip of fourteen hours, or less. Then in 1828, the Linen Board of 1711—whose operations were so denounced by Arthur Young in his "Tour in Ireland"—came to its final dissolution (by 9 Geo. IV., c. 62); some of its functions were transferred to the Lord Lieutenant for a time, so that the last regulations of the linen trade by



public authority did not finally lapse until the year 1842. It was an undesigned coincidence that about the same date, 1828, the application of machinery to the wet-spinning of flax led to the modern linen factory, and to the concentration in and around Belfast, and at a few other centres in Ulster, of an industry previously spread widely through the homes of the Irish peasants, especially in Connaught.

During the ninety and odd years since 1824, under the influence of free trade conditions, Industrial Ireland has undergone an economic transformation so complete that it is difficult to realise the logical impossibility of comparing the Ireland of to-day with the Ireland of fifty or sixty years ago. Certainly few people have ever mentally grasped the facts of the prodigious stimulus that has been given to the commerce of Ireland by the new free-trade era that opened in 1824. Yet it is from that epoch that we must date the growth (1) of the modern linen trade; (2) the Irish porter exports; (3) the large live-stock industry; and (4) a great Irish grain trade to Great Britain (a preferential market from 1823 to 1845), which culminated in 1838, but only began to fall away rapidly after 1861, with the advent of the new American prairie produce. Later still, in the fifties and sixties, we have had the rise and growth, under free-trade conditions, of the Iron and Steel Shipbuilding, of the modern factory Woollen Industry, and of the Biscuit Manufacture.

When we try to contrast the Ireland before 1824 with the Ireland of to-day, as might be expected we find that Ireland was then more self-contained: which necessarily means that it was very much poorer. Most of the country people were then clothed with home-made materials. The country produced all its own breadstuffs, and had a considerable surplus of grain and meal for export. The meat exports then formed a victualling trade, chiefly of salted provisions, for the live-cattle business only became considerable after regular fast steam communication with Great Britain was established. We find in 1824 no importation of Indian corn, or of other foodstuffs, such as so largely obtains to-day. Among exports, everything was then agricultural, with the one big exception of the linen trade, which came to between two and a half and three millions sterling in annual value, *i.e.*, not a sixth of the linen export of to-day, although the article has since so much cheapened in price. Moreover, the linen trade figures then included, besides yarn, a considerable export of "rough" (*i.e.*, scutched) and "dressed" (*i.e.*, hackled) flax.

When we turn to the Ireland of to-day, we have to make acquaintance with a group of facts, which are so new that few people are yet aware of them. The ideas still prevalent

in the minds of the Irish people about Ireland may have come down by tradition from some Ireland of the past times (which probably never existed!); but they are, to a surprising degree, wholly inapplicable (because false) to the Ireland of to-day. Modern Ireland is a *terra incognita* to most of the Irish people. It is the creation of free trade conditions, and thrives by free trade—yet most Irish people blandly believe that it is free trade that has “ruined” Ireland, although, in truth, there never was a period in the whole history of Ireland when the country was so prosperous; and especially so its manufacturing industries, which many of us sarcastically compare with the Irish snakes in being conspicuous only by their absence. But all this popular prejudice is false, and the true facts are quite otherwise.

To justify these statements, it is necessary to examine and to interpret the statistics of modern Ireland,—which is a painful operation that rouses an invincible repugnance in most of us. I will take at present only the figures for the external trade in exports and imports at Irish Ports, beginning in 1904, which the Department began publishing in 1906. But other lines of confirmatory evidence exist in the Census of Production for 1907, in the Decennial Censuses from 1841 downwards, and elsewhere.

The only analysis that the Department’s statistician gives of Irish imports and exports is to group them under three classes: (1) Farm produce, food, and drink; (2) Raw materials, which includes coal; (3) Manufactured goods. These three classes are indicated by the bracketed numbers in the central column, in the following table:—

#### ANALYSIS OF IRELAND’S ANNUAL TRADE.

Column (A)=Average of 10 Years, 1904-13; Column (B)=Year 1914.

IMPORTS.			EXPORTS.		
1914 (B)	1904-13 (A)	Class of Goods.	1904-13 (A)	1914 (B)	
£ Millions.	£ Millions. Per Cent.		£ Millions. Per Cent.	£ Millions.	
27·26	23·24=36·8	(1)	34·34=54·5	41·61	
10·27	9·46=15·2	(2)	4·03= 6·4	4·52	
36·13	30·26=48·0	(3)	24·65=39·1	31·18	
73·66	62· =100·0	Totals	63·02 =100·0	77·31	

From this table we can see that for the single year 1914 (column B), the Exports were valued at 77·31 millions sterling: exceeding the Imports, valued at 73·66 millions sterling, by a considerable excess. But 1914 was an abnormal year by the fact that the War was affecting five months, August to December, inclusive. It is better, when forming general views about Ireland's Trade, to confine our attention to Column A, which represents (both in millions sterling and by percentages) the average conditions for the previous ten years, 1904-13, inclusive. Now, what does Column A tell us about Irish Trade? Notice the very large *importation* of Food and Farm Produce: they are 36·8 per cent. of the Ireland Imports. Notice, again, the quite large *exportation* of Manufactured Goods: they are 39·1 per cent. of Ireland's Exports. Can we continue to suppose, in the face of such facts, that "Ireland is chiefly an agricultural country, with few industries worth speaking about"? Moreover, we have to mentally grasp what the Class "Farm Produce, Food and Drink" here includes—namely, Guinness' Brewery, Jacob's Biscuit Factory, Gallaher's Tobacco Factory, Jameson's Whiskey Distillery, the big Bacon Curing Establishments, etc.; all of these, being highly capitalised industries with elaborate plant and machinery, make it quite clear that Class (1), "Farm Produce, Food, and Drink," cannot be accepted as representing only Agricultural Exports. If these industrial items were shifted from Class (1) to Class (3), we may easily believe that Ireland's Exports contain at least as much from the output of Ireland's industries as it does from the output of Ireland's agriculture: it only needs a shifting of 5 millions worth of value, out of a total Export of 63 millions sterling, to make the two equal. We must draw the conclusion already from this simple table that Ireland is NOT a country which *exports* mainly agricultural products and *imports* mainly manufactured products. That view is radically false of present-day Ireland, which is a country that enjoys the good fortune of having mixed employments, both industrial and agricultural. This conclusion can be confirmed from the independent evidence supplied by the Census of Production for the year 1907.

But we may analyse the figures of Ireland's Trade in a much better way for our present purpose than the Department's Statistician has cared to do. We desire to learn how Ireland lives, considered as an isolated household. What are the principal articles which she is producing for sale to the world? What are the principal articles which she requires to purchase? I will here answer the first question only; and, for that purpose, I will take the particulars

only of the Exports, and will arrange them simply in order of magnitude by estimated values.

# PRINCIPAL EXPORTS OF IRELAND.

(Grouped according to distinct employments).

—	Year 1914.	Year 1913.	Year 1912.
	£	£	£
1. Linen Trade (3) ...	16,031,816	16,009,326	15,839,205
2. Cattle Trade (6) ...	14,345,161	15,464,468	8,236,868
*3. Bacon Industry (6) ...	4,372,096	4,430,061	4,510,367
*4. Butter Trade (4) ...	4,924,024	3,954,611	4,395,783
*5. Eggs and Poultry (3) ...	4,487,326	4,048,088	4,007,693
6. Steamships (1) ...	6,703,250	3,148,000	3,361,500
*7. Cotton Goods (1) ...	2,275,174	2,722,350	2,664,984
8. Woollen M'facture (10) ...	2,808,694	2,364,120	2,610,595
9. Porter and Ale (2) ...	2,452,205	2,293,879	2,102,834
10. Whiskey (1) ...	1,930,377	2,008,500	1,960,136
11. Horses (3) ...	1,431,045	1,703,260	1,627,040
12. Pig Trade (1) ...	736,688	1,024,197	1,302,053
Total of above ...	62,497,856	59,150,860	52,669,058
Other Exports ...	14,813,196	14,735,550	14,512,920
All Irish Exports ...	77,311,052	73,886,410	67,181,978

\* These items are incomplete, being partly exported under other heads, such as "Parcels Post," "Provisions and Groceries," "Apparel," etc.

In this table I have indicated, by the bracketed figure after the name of each employment, the number of items in the Department's List of Exports, which I have combined to get the total for that employment given in the above columns. For example, "Linen Trade" covers the three items of Flax, Linen Yarns, and Linen Cloth. It will be observed that the various trades or employments, while fluctuating yearly, maintain their relative position in the table fairly steadily. Hence we are justified in concluding that we have here set out *the twelve largest-producing employments of modern Ireland*. What we learn from the table is that 8 out of the 12 are capitalised industries using elaborate machinery. The 4 others are Live Stock businesses; other agricultural products of Ireland being consumed at home, mainly on the farms in producing the Live Stock. This table seems to me conclusive on the point that the industries of Ireland, so far from being negligible in comparison with the agriculture of Ireland, are probably producing more wealth than the land of Ireland



produces under the present system of usage. I have elsewhere summed up the situation in Ireland to-day as follows: "There are two Irelands: a Rural Population of about three millions purely agricultural, and a Civic Population of about one and a half millions purely industrial. And these two are producing about equal amounts of wealth" (Oxford Survey of British Empire, under the article "Ireland"). Such is the economy of the modern Ireland that came into existence under free-trade conditions since 1824: and it is a picture of their own country that very few Irishmen will recognise. For, as I said, Ireland is a *terra incognita* to the generation that to-day lives in it.

A system for the "protection" of industry by tariffs can do no more than secure for industry the home market; when it does so for one industry it puts up the expenses against every other industry. For every *plus* there must be a *minus*; perhaps people are protectionists merely because it is generally easier to see one plus than a multitude of minuses. But Ireland is a small country, and can provide only a small market. The industries of Ireland now existing all manufacture for an export trade: there is not one of them could live, let alone thrive, if it were restricted to the home market. Having to export and to maintain its place in a world-market, anything that enhances its expenses of production must be most injurious. Because "protection" must do that, therefore the term is misleading: under such conditions "protection" does not protect, it enfeebles.

Just one point more to conclude with. When we examine the imports of Ireland and compare these with the exports, we are impressed by one broad outstanding feature of our economy—viz.: Ireland is not self-contained. *What we produce we do not consume, we export it; and what we consume we do not produce, we import it.* Also it is curious that we find a large number of commodities which appear both as imports and as exports. Is it that there is something inadequately adjusted in the commercial arrangements of the country where commodities coming in are met and passed by the same commodities going out? It is an economic truth that a small country, if it is to be self-contained, must remain poor: it can only become wealthy, if it is enabled to employ the resources of other lands as well as its own—what it can only do by developing its foreign trade. We know that the external trade of Ireland is enormous in comparison with the size of the country. But can we not reflect how doubly-injurious tariffs would be under circumstances like these of Ireland? It is enough for some thinkers that "protection" plays a great role in the modern world. But it may be noticed that

a system of "protection" only becomes endurable when the area enclosed is so large as to be nearly self-supporting and when its internal commerce is developed by free trade. What would be the United States of America to-day if the forty-eight States were protected against themselves? What was the state of Germany before a system of free trade united all the separate German principalities and kingdoms within the same zollverein? Is not Russia already so large as to be self-sufficing? Have not the British Colonies in Canada, in Australia, in South Africa, established an internal free trade for themselves according as each of them became unified into one large area as a Dominion? But a small country such as Ireland cannot afford to be self-contained: therefore, it dare not attempt to build up industry by the use of a "protective" tariff—it must be free trade. Yet it is supposed that, if a poll were taken, the great majority of the Irish people would be found to be Protectionists!

# THE PREPARATION OF NATIONAL SCHOOL PUPILS FOR TECHNICAL TRAINING AND INDUSTRIAL LIFE.

BY FREDERICK W. RYAN.

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[Read February 23rd, 1917.]

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## 1. EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF TO-DAY.

The recent action of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland instituting an official certificate for pupils leaving the higher standards in Day National Schools makes of practical interest the consideration of other provisions, long overdue, in the Primary Schools of the country.

Some notes are made in this paper—from unavoidable circumstances rather loosely put together—on the need of the provision of Manual Instruction in Woodwork; of Medical Treatment for pupils of Day National Schools; and the organisation of Continuation Classes for such pupils on leaving the Day Schools for the working world.

Such subjects have long had their place in School Systems outside Ireland. Their continued omission from most of our Primary Schools at this juncture detracts in a real way from our ability to bear, equally with the rest of the United Kingdom, the social and economic burdens to follow the War and the payment of its cost.

Appeals of self-interest and patriotismlike are put forward to the citizens of the United Kingdom to exercise the highest technical skill in developing their industrial resources; and the general adjustment in social conditions following the War will call for qualities of order and discipline to a larger extent than in the past and no less in Ireland than in the rest of the United Kingdom.

Writing, in its first year, of the War, the Chief Medical Officer of the English Board of Education in his Annual Report expressed the view:—

“ There is now no ultimate need of the State greater, more imperative or more urgent than that of securing the health and physical efficiency of the rising generation with a view to its all-round practical education.”

In the words of another educationist—Mr. Graham Balfour—uttered two years ago:—

“ It is more and better education that we shall want. And the time of preparation is now. We were unprepared for the War now raging. Let us be ready for the equally important, if less sanguinary, struggle which is to follow.”

## 2. VIEWS OF EMPLOYERS.

With us the question arises of the adequacy of the curriculum in our Primary Schools to prepare pupils to become efficient workers in industrial life, and, in particular, to benefit by technical training in our Technical Schools. In the Primary Schools under the Board of National Education the average number of pupils on the Rolls, according to the last return available (Report for 1914-15, p. 17) was 700,265. The interests involved in their instruction are measured by the fact that most of these pupils end their education for good on reaching 14 years, when they leave school, mainly at the Fourth or lower Standards. If you ask a working boy why he left school, you will frequently get the reply “ because I was fourteen,” this even though he does not take up employment immediately on so doing. There is no tradition to follow up their schooling in such cases.

In 1914, before the War, in connection with the Dublin Juvenile Advisory Committee the opinions of representative employers were being taken by the writer as to the educational condition of their juvenile workers under queries concerning the elementary education, attendance at Technical Schools, playing of games, efficiency at work, etc.

Criticism of the preparation in the National Schools of pupils for their work might be summed up in the phrases “ no initiative ” and “ lack of manual dexterity.”

An analysis of the actual replies and longer statements given would require a separate paper.

Justice could not be done to either the juvenile workers or employers by merely citing individual replies to particular phrases, though interesting, such as the following:—

“ Too much collective teaching.”

“ The boys appear to learn by rote and are unable to apply the principles taught them in every day problems.”

“ It is difficult to get highly skilled or efficient artisans.”

“ The Dublin mechanic is of necessity slovenly, not thorough and unreliable—faults in my opinion of circumstances.”



“ Is apt and intelligent as anywhere, but his anxiety to excel in the technical side of things is not so great as in the North, or, say, Scotland, England or Wales. In Dublin the lads are badly educated for Technical Trades.”

One employer plaintively wrote:—“ They have no manners, are stupid, they can read, write and spell fairly well. They are slow in the ‘ up take ’ and they don’t take an interest in their work. What is it which makes the smart London office boy by the tens of thousands and overlooks the Dublin youngsters. I should much like to know?”

There is, indeed, testimony from various other quarters that there are real deficiencies to be made good and some hope of remedy at hand.

Action has been taken by the authorities in the matter, as the following extract from the Report for 1916 of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce, p. 44, shows:—

“ Recently the Commissioners for National Education invited representatives of this Chamber to meet them and discuss the question of modifying the programme of instruction in National Schools so as to render it more suitable to the special needs of pupils in industrial and commercial centres. . . .

“ The President and Mr. Good made statements as to how, in their opinion, the programme of education might be modified, and expressed the belief that much good would accrue if a system were adopted which would instil in the minds of the pupils a greater desire to engage in industrial pursuits. This would have the effect of improving the earning capacity of many who would otherwise go to swell the ranks of unskilled labour.

“ A discussion followed after the delegates had made their statements, and Dr. Starkie intimated that the views put forward would be carefully considered by the Commissioners.”

### 3. A BETTER SCHOOL ATTENDANCE ACT.

The proposals of the Chamber of Commerce have not yet been published, but it is contended that no reform in programme of instruction, whether in manners or manual work, can be effective without an adequate radical strengthening of the Compulsory Attendance Provisions of the Irish Education Act, 1892.

The lack of “ tone ” in industrial work and character of the juvenile workers of to-day in Dublin and elsewhere must

be attributed in large measure to the vicious effects upon the school work of pupils in the National Schools under the lax terms of the Irish Education Act, 1892, as regards attendance at Day Schools, taken in conjunction with the fact that as far as direct payment by the parents, the education given is free. Those pupils attending regularly suffer, it should be noted, by delay in progress occasioned by the intermittent attendance of their colleagues.

I offer, therefore, no apology in going into the details of the evil effects of the present Act, often before this Society in previous papers, and giving its inadequate effects in the appended facts and figures for Dublin, some of which have, however, the interest of not being published (I understand) separately from the returns for the whole country. They are given in Note A.

Two things claim immediate attention. One is the failure to retain in the schools the majority of National School pupils till they have acquired such an education as would equip them for a decent livelihood and the failure to provide for the further education of those obliged to leave school before their education is complete. The other is the lack of a practical programme to fit boys for the working world.

A careful examination of the Returns available in the various Annual Reports of the Commissioners of National Education, and other publications, has led to the conclusion that the situation shown in the above tables for Dublin obtains, with local variations, through the country generally, with like deplorable results; and the recent public utterances of responsible speakers confirm this opinion. Here then we have two of the causes of our low standard of education—leaving school too soon, and bad attendance.

To remedy this state of things the Compulsory School Attendance Act should be amended and a system of Continuation Classes and Night Schools should be established. The former would mete out even-handed justice to defaulting parents and boys; the latter would provide for the case of the boy where his Elementary Education has not normally developed in the day school or has been cut short by a domestic calamity or for some valid reason. It is evident that a better Compulsory Attendance Act will not completely solve the problem, for the necessitous condition of their homes will oblige quite a number of boys to leave school at the legal age, or before it, to earn a small wage, without being sufficiently educated to work their way into anything like progressive employments, in which they may hope to earn, at an older age, a living wage. Bad

health and dullness, etc., may have precluded progress in the Day Schools. The "Blind Alley" of unprogressive employment swallows them up. Some may even have been relatively highly educated whose learning wears away in a few years owing to the pursuit of such "blind alley" occupations. For these boys supplementary schooling is necessary.

To assist such boys in the battle of life provision should be made in Night Schools and Continuation Classes for their further education with the definite view of getting them into Technical Schools.

#### 4. EXISTING ELEMENTARY EVENING SCHOOLS.

The existing Evening Elementary Schools do not, in number, meet the needs of the case. For some years past the activities of schools of this class have steadily declined, as the Reports of Inspectors under the National Board show. The following figures may give the measure of the loss:—

In 1905 the number of Night Schools in operation were 631, in the year 1915, 301.

In the Vote for Public Education, Ireland, 1905-6, the grant for Evening Elementary Schools stood at £23,000, and in that year £11,928 was used: in 1914-15 the grant was reduced to £8,000 and only £7,900 was used, the loss to the country by the annual reduction in the decade being in round numbers £170,000.

Several practical reasons have restricted the use of the grant:—

The Rules of the Board of National Education administering the grant are too rigid in the distribution of the hours of class work; the number of pupils required to be in attendance in a class and the number of meetings of a class, for qualification for any grant.

The rates of payment to teachers are low, and the method of payment protracted. In the case of the lower classes, most needed, not more than 2s. an hour may be expected.

In particular, the terror of the "rule of ten" threatening the grant hangs over a teacher in the case of backward boys, requiring personal attention, and thus his interest is often lost in the most deserving pupils.

This rule requires an average attendance *at each meeting* of ten *eligible* pupils, *i.e.*, those who have made ten attendances or over. Thus twelve pupils may make 30 attend-

ances each out of 40 meetings of a class. 'This would be a fair attendance at a Night School and secure solid work done. Yet no grant would be earned by such a class, the "average attendance" only being 9; *pro rata* payment would be withheld.

There is no direct aid towards the payment of initial expenses or the organisation of new schools, or the rent, heating, lighting, cleaning and maintenance of existing night schools—often a difficult problem—or towards the supplies of school equipment, books or prizes. The grant of from 2s. to 3s. an hour for instruction, on an average, is the sole State aid given to the management, and this is generally mortgaged to the teachers.

No detailed programme of instruction exists, designed to fit in with Technical Instruction, nor books designed to suit the young worker backward in his reading.

It is easy to provide a reader such as *Treasure Island*, the *Christmas Carol* or *Knocknagow* for the boy in the Fifth Standard and upward. For the boy in the working world who is spelling out his words and writing headlines the relatively childish books of the Third or Fourth Standard of the day schools are dull and distasteful. Similarly the teaching of Arithmetic presents difficulties.

A Continuation School Programme is required to meet the situation, such as is found in Great Britain and on the Continent.

For instance, a programme in a Continental City is designed specially "for boys in unskilled occupations," and includes instruction in the first year on leaving the Day School in such subjects as "choice of calling; meaning of labour; regulation of work; correspondence with employer (sickness, inability to attend work); duties towards the employer; attitude towards one's fellow-workers." Under *Arithmetic* we find "transactions in connection with the Post Office, papers and forms connected with the insurance of the worker, his work-book and wages book; the meaning and kind of wages; protection and reasonable use of wages; and such topics as 'personal hygiene,' and 'employment of leisure time for gymnastic, walking and games; for culture instruction and conversation.'"

Outside technical difficulties the long hours of work of many pupils and the absence of active co-operation of parent or employer impair attendance.

The bad weather of winter operates adversely to the attendance at Evening Classes of boys who may have to spend their evenings at home in drying their only pair of boots—badly broken—and their sole suit of clothes for the morrow's work.



## 5. SUITABLE CONTINUATION CLASSES NEEDED.

For the Juvenile Workers of to-day who will be untouched by any future reform in the Day National Schools it seems desirable that Continuation Classes on a concerted plan be at once established through the country.

Things being as they are, it would appear fatal that adequate provision for their future education should be left to the spasmodic initiative of local and individual effort. A systematic plan of Continuation Classes for the country, on a whole, linking up the National with the Technical Schools must be devised for the benefit of these boys.

The best results are naturally to be obtained by taking the boys in hands immediately after they leave school, as the habit of learning is apt to be weakened should too long an interval elapse between the time they leave school and their entrance into the Night School.

Manual Instruction in Woodwork should in these classes have a particular place.

Linked up with the Night School system there should be a recreation centre with provision for games, indoor and outdoor, a library. Physical Training should here have its definite place, and for all Uninsured Juvenile Workers, Medical Inspection and Treatment continued from the Day Schools. The recreation centre should be open only to those who attend the classes regularly. Each boy should pay a small fee weekly. They should be taught to realise the value of good citizenship and a corporate spirit should be promoted amongst them. Physical Training should include instruction in swimming and organised games. In the Clarendon Evening School this has already been attempted, the Iveagh Baths being used last summer. In the classes for the employees of Messrs. W. & R. Jacob Basket Ball has been introduced and taken to with enthusiasm by the pupils.

Such centres could, to a large extent, be provided by the co-operation of existing Working Boys' Clubs and Institutes, while preserving their local autonomy; and in forming new centres the services of members of existing philanthropic or social welfare societies would be of great assistance. The Juvenile Advisory Committee, through their After Care Visitors, in particular, could assist. These latter have already, in our National School system, a definite position not very largely as yet taken up by them in Ireland. The "After Care Committee" may, with the assent of the school manager, appoint to the school visitors to follow up the industrial career of the pupils

The following note in the Programme for Technical Schools and Classes issued by the Department has importance in the organisation, pending further powers of limiting the hours of work of juveniles of a workable system of Continuation Classes.

“A second difficulty is the shortness of time available for Instruction in Evening Classes. Speaking generally, not more than two evening attendances a week can be expected, for home work is essential if full advantage is to be derived from the work in class. The hours of school study thus limited become precious and the organisation of the school and the efforts of the teachers should be earnestly directed to the most thorough utilisation of these hours, and to this end every lesson should be carefully prepared.

A better attendance at the Day National Schools should be required for the future under an amendment of the present Act. Proposals for this in detail are given at the end, Note B.

Attendance at Continuation Classes by, in particular, the present Juvenile Workers who will not come under the benefits of reform in the *day school*, should be secured by a Juvenile Workers' Act, of which a draft is given. In particular, boys in “blind alley” occupations require, as has been suggested, the protection of an Act limiting their hours of work. See Note C.

The proposal to extend, in the United Kingdom, Compulsory Attendance at Continuation Classes by Juvenile Workers between 14 and 17 years is not so revolutionary as may at first appear as may be seen in the action in recent years of the General Post Office in relation to their Telegraph Messengers; the Scottish School Boards under the Education (Scotland) Act, 1908, requiring attendance by juvenile workers who have not obtained the Merit Certificate in their Day School at Continuation Classes up to seventeen years of age; and the action of the Dublin Corporation in this year in respect of Juvenile Street Trading under the Employment of Children Act, 1903. Particulars are given in Note D.

## 6. EDUCATIONAL SALVAGE WANTED.

To meet Irish needs steps must therefore be taken to establish Continuation Classes on an adequate scale, possible of easy local development. We have been informed in October last that

“the Commissioners of National Education have at present under consideration the general question of Education in Industrial and Commercial Centres and that they

will, in connexion therewith, take into account the organisation of Elementary Evening Schools and other kindred topics."

Any system of Continuation Classes to be immediately instituted must conform, for practical considerations, to the present managerial system. The creation of fresh educational authorities, or the amalgamation or modification of the five distinct Boards controlling various forms of Education in Ireland would prove a task of time and trouble, raising such large social and political issues as might defeat the immediate needs of the case, namely, (1) the educational salvage of the present Juvenile Workers while it may not yet be too late, and (2) the beginning of a practical reform by the improvement of the programme of the Senior Classes in Day National Schools.

For these purposes, a strengthening of the powers of existing educational authorities interested is all that is requisite.

The needed legislation, which is small, could easily be got through Parliament as an agreed measure, administrative and departmental orders would do the rest.

Despite the five Boards mentioned above, it should be noted that through the Board of National Education alone can come the improvements suggested in Elementary Education.

There is not, indeed, the "overlapping" rather vaguely mentioned by critics of Irish Departments; and a note on the limitations placed by Statute upon the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland and the local Technical Committees in the matter of elementary instruction, etc., may be of use, as these bodies are frequently wrongly blamed for the backward condition of Irish workers.

"The Department" and the local Technical Committees under it were created by the Agriculture and Technical Instruction (Ireland) Act, 1899. Section 30 of this Act states:—

"The expression 'technical instruction' means instruction in the principles of science and art applicable to industries."

"It shall not include instruction given in Elementary Schools."

By these words local Technical Committees are precluded from providing from out of the rates or the grant from the Department either Manual Work for Day National School pupils, or Evening Classes for backward juvenile workers in English or Mathematics. Their so-called "Introductory

Courses " must be introductory to a Technical Subject and the regulations require, in consequence, that

" Students on whom grants are claimed must have received such an education as would entitle them to be placed in the sixth class of a school under the National Board."

Hence comes the Entrance Examination.

It should be also noted that Technical Schools are not intended to provide trades and consequent employment for the young workers not already in a trade, as is popularly believed. This is indicated in the Section of the Act above mentioned where it states, defining the expression " Technical Instruction," " it shall not include teaching the practise of any trade or industry or employment." Accordingly accredited apprentices are only admitted to Trade Courses, those not bound properly to workmen or to employers (as the case may be) only being allowed to attend classes at quadruple fees.

It should be noted that by Section 23 of this Act there was created a " Consultative Committee of Education " for the purpose of " co-ordinating educational administration," consisting of five members representing:—

" The Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction," three members.

" The Commissioners of National Education," one member.

" The Intermediate Education Board," one member.

This body could, it would seem, most usefully consider the problems under discussion to-night.

## 7. MEDICAL TREATMENT.

There is no Medical Treatment in general in National Schools in Ireland and no record of the medical condition of the pupils as a whole. Medical Inspection of the pupils on entrance exists to a limited extent in the Model Schools. Dental clinics have been established to a limited extent, scarcely appreciable. They were discussed in a paper before this Society by Dr. Story before the present grant was authorised.

In 1912-13 a grant of £7,500 for " Medical Treatment of School Children and services auxiliary thereto," was included in the Vote to the Board of National Education.

In the Public Accounts of that year the following note appears by the Comptroller and Auditor-General upon the small part of the sum actually used, namely, £263:—

" When applying for this Grant the Commissioners of National Education contemplated that the entire cost of the service, which was proposed by them to be con-



fined to dental treatment of the pupils, was to be discharged out of the State grant. Every possible effort was made by the Commissioners to induce the School Managers and their parties interested in the matter to prepare and to introduce schemes for making use of the grant for the purpose for which it was voted; but undertakings to comply with conditions imposed in regard to half the cost being borne out of funds provided locally could not be procured."

In 1913-14 the grant was, in consequence, reduced to £5,000, and of this only £498 were used, a similar reason being recorded.

In 1914-15 the grant was further reduced to £2,000, of which only £891 was expended.

The last Report of the Commissioners of National Education states:—

" It is almost needless to say that the condition attached to these grants renders it very unlikely that the dental inspection and treatment will make much advance in the Schools so long as there is no power to raise a local rate for the purpose by the County Councils."

It would seem inequitable that conditions not contemplated by the Commissioners of National Education should have been imposed and continued upon the use of this grant, of vital importance to the welfare of the people, when by such action the object of the grant is defeated, and by delay in the needed relief the existing evil aggravated.

In the Clarendon Evening School two Medical Doctors volunteered to examine and record the medical condition of 50 pupils, taken at random, mainly between 14 and 16 years, with a view to formulating a scheme of Medical and Dental Treatment and to estimate its cost. The condition of 50 pupils were registered on cards prepared for the purpose and a report drawn up, the scheme to include cost of treatment of boys suffering from the ailments commonly prevalent amongst their class, under terms to be arranged with local hospitals and dispensaries, to include what the hospitals and dispensaries in their *Medical Treatment cannot ordinarily give*, viz., special drugs.

The report concluded with reference to the "necessitous condition of the juvenile workers in Dublin" as follow:—

In making this recommendation the Medical Officers have clearly in view that each of the boys attending this

School hopes to enter the Technical Schools and as such hopes to become a skilled worker.

“ When, therefore, we find on investigation the number of boys suffering from diseases of the eyes (Defective Vision) to be 16 out of 50; from discharging ears, with, in many cases, concurrent defective hearing, 12 out of 50, and also that their home conditions—bad as they have been—are now growing worse owing to the War, such system of Medical Inspection and Treatment as has been suggested is, in the opinion of the Medical Officers, essential and urgent.”

Such provision will, it is hoped, not be overlooked in any settlement of the Medical Treatment question by extending this service to Continuation Classes.

## 8. THE NEED FOR MANUAL INSTRUCTION.

It seems imperative from the previous facts to give a more practical direction to the curriculum of National Schools or others attended by the children of the worker, so that the best brains may not go, as they now seem to do in many cases, into relatively unproductive employments.

It is the experience of those in touch with Irish Elementary Education that most children of the working classes, especially in the National Schools, who are able to reach the Sixth and higher Standards, have a disposition to seek commercial or office careers, aiming at Government or Municipal clerkships and the like, leaving the residue, those who do not pass beyond the Fifth Standard, to recruit mainly the ranks of industrial workers. As all forms of “ unproductive ” or “ distributing ” employment in a degree depend for their remuneration upon the increase or at least the adequate supply of the tangible wealth derived from rural or urban industries, it seems that an undesirable and uneven distribution of part of the trained intelligence of the country is taking place, adding another cause to many that prevent the industrial development and prosperity of the country.

The lower residue of these less educated boys fall naturally into casual or unskilled occupations, with their resulting evils.

Manual Instruction, now absent, of a practical kind in wood- or metal-work, such as is given from the age of about 11 years in most Schools in Great Britain, should be established. The Irish Kindergarten System taught from 5 to 11 years, is not, as was originally intended, carried

on to the use of real tools, such as would make easier the transition of the schoolboy into the young worker and stimulate an interest in trades and industries rather than in clerical work.

The following general conclusions, and the grounds on which they are based, of the Belmore Commission of 1898 have still relevance in view of the fact that their recommendations regarding Manual Work are not yet carried out:--

“ We think that Kindergarten methods and principles should be continued in Classes I., II., and III. of ordinary schools, in the form of Paper-folding, Cardboard work, Wire-work, Brick-laying, Clay-modelling, and such like exercises. These exercises we include under the general term of Hand and Eye Training, and we look upon them as of great importance, for the purpose of carrying on the Manual training of the children, from the Kindergarten stage to the higher grades of Manual Instruction. Further, we consider that some form of more advanced Manual Instruction should be introduced, as far as possible, in the higher classes of schools for boys, and we recommend, as most suitable for this purpose, instruction in the principles and practice of Woodwork, treated educationally. The object to be aimed at is not to make the boys carpenters, but to train them in habits of accurate observation, careful measurement, and exact workmanship. Such habits we regard as of great value to all boys, whatever may be their subsequent career in life.

“ We think that the changes recommended ought to be introduced, not all at once, but gradually and tentatively. They should be tried first in the larger centres, and afterwards extended to more remote districts. It would be necessary, at the outset, to engage the services of experts, from outside the present staff of the National Education Board, whose duty it would be to organise the classes, and to aid the teachers with their counsel and instruction.

“ We regard it also as a very significant testimony to the value of Manual training that wherever it has been once introduced it has, with hardly an exception, been continued and extended. There has been practically no disposition to go back to the old system, which made primary education almost exclusively literary in its character; and, after an experience extending over some years, there is a general consensus of managers of schools, inspectors, and parents that the value of primary education has been greatly enhanced by the change.

“ Lastly, there is a consideration of a practical character which seems to us deserving of no little weight. A strong desire exists throughout this country, and it is growing stronger every day, for the introduction of a general system of Technical Education. It is thought that a good system of Technical Education would contribute largely towards the development of arts and industries in Ireland; and in this opinion we entirely concur. But the present system of primary education is so one-sided in its character that it leaves the pupils quite unprepared for Technical Education. The clever boys trained in the National Schools, if they are disposed to seek for a higher education, may pass with advantage into Intermediate Schools of the kind now general in Ireland; but they are not fit to enter a Technical School, even if they had such a school at their doors. Now it seems to us that the changes we recommend would go far to remedy this defect. The system of National Education, modified as we propose, would give an all-round training to the faculties of the children, and would thus lay a solid foundation for any system of higher education—literary, scientific, or technical—which might afterwards be found suitable to their talents and their circumstances.”

#### 9. PRESENT POSITION OF THE SUBJECT.

Following the Belmore Commission the sum of £5,000 was set down in the Vote for Public Education, Ireland, for five successive years, under the sub-head Manual and Practical Instruction. No scheme to utilise this sum for Manual Instruction such as was recommended above was agreed upon by the Commissioners of National Education with the other parties interested. A difficulty had arisen as to the training of National School Teachers to do this work.

The subsequent Estimates were reduced, in consequence, by this sum of £5,000 and the words “ and fees ” removed from the sub-head. The sub-head remains with a grant of £12,238, seemingly limited to Domestic Economy and Equipment Grants; and the Commissioners do not seem to have the power of financing out of their large Vote of £1,182,700 a single class, even experimentally, in this subject.

The Commissioners of National Education have recently come to an agreement with the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for the holding of suitable classes for National School pupils in Instructional centres by



teachers trained under the Department. The financial control of these classes must, from the terms of the Statute founding the Department, remain under the Commissioners. They, having no funds available out of their vote, applied to the Irish Government for what amounts to a restoration of part of the above Grant to institute such instruction in cities and towns, and in their recent Report for 1914-15 they state:—

“ Unfortunately owing to the War it has been necessary to postpone the matter, but we have been informed by the Irish Government that our request will receive favourable consideration when circumstances permit.”

The cost is estimated at about £350 for an experimental establishment, as was suggested by the Belmore Commission, of this Instruction in a few select centres.

Looking at the matter broadly it would seem that the circumstances of “ the state of backwardation ” to be made up in Education in Ireland call urgently, in the interests of both Ireland and the Empire, for the institution of Manual Instruction and the other needed services of Medical Treatment and Continuation Classes on a large and generous scale.

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#### NOTE A.

#### SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN DUBLIN AND ELSEWHERE IN IRELAND.

As regards School Attendance the following figures for the City of Dublin, giving the number enrolled for the Third and higher Standards on the 31st December, 1914, tell their own tale. In Dublin there were on the rolls of the Dublin National Schools, 17,281 boys, distributed as follow:—

Standards I. and II.	...	...	12,771
„ III. to VIII.	...	...	4,510
Total	...	...	<hr/> 17,281

This distribution has remained constant in recent successive years.

Presumably, then, in each year there leave these National Schools over 8,000 boys, who have not advanced far beyond the II. Standard, and it has been computed that at least half of these, namely, 4,000, end their systematic schooling and remain for all practical purposes illiterate.

Here are the figures in the other Standards:—

1,747	were	enrolled	in	III.	Standard.
1,270	„	„	„	IV.	„
840	„	„	„	V.	„
448	„	„	„	VI.	„
161	„	„	„	VII.	„
35	„	„	„	VIII.	„

It may be assumed that a small proportion of pupils leave the National Schools to enter schools that are not under the Commissioners of National Education, but there is no doubt that the education of the vast majority end when they leave the National Schools.

The figures given above show that in 1914 over 400 left School before reaching the Fifth Standard, and nearly 900 left before reaching the Fourth Standard. Such a state of things is truly lamentable. But the whole story is not told. The majority of those on the rolls attend but irregularly. For, of these 17,281 boys on the rolls on 31st December, 1914, only

269	had	made	200	attendances	or	over	within	the	year.
3,331	„	175	„	and	under	200	„		
3,404	„	150	„	„	175	„			
2,489	„	125	„	„	150	„			
1,767	„	100	„	„	125	„			
2,252	„	75	„	„	100	„			
1,859	„	50	„	„	75	„			

and 1,910 had made under 50 attendances within the year.

An attendance of 150 days in the year cannot be considered as good. Yet, in the above table it will be seen that 10,277 did not make 150 days attendance in the year. This means that those boys could not have made much progress in their schooling in the period.

The following extract from the last Report for school year 1914/15 of the Commissioners of National Education, p. 31, are of interest in this connection:—

“ COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE PROVISIONS OF THE IRISH  
EDUCATION ACT, 1892.

“At the end of the year 1914, 232 School Attendance Committees existed, 92 in the County Boroughs, Urban Districts and Municipal Towns, and 140 in Rural Districts.

According to reports received from the Committees, the provisions of the Act were enforced, during the year, by 229 of these Committees.

“ There are 41 Urban Districts or Towns having municipal government, to which the provisions of the Act apply, but for which School Attendance Committees have not been appointed. There are 112 Rural Districts without School Attendance Committees.”

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Note B.

(1) HEADS OF PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO IRISH EDUCATION  
ACT, 1892.

1. Daily attendance required by each child.
2. Local registration of all children of school-going age to be made to the local School Attendance Committee by parents or guardians each year.
3. No child to be entered upon the Roll of a school without an interview on the part of the parent or guardian of the child with the Head Master or Manager of the School.
4. The Head Master shall furnish an annual report to the parent or guardian of the child's progress.
5. No child shall be removed from the Roll of the school without notification in writing by the parent or guardian stating the reason, nor shall the Head Master or any other educational authority remove the child's name from the Roll of the school without notifying the parent or guardian.
6. On a child's absence from school the Head Master shall daily furnish to the School Attendance Officer the names of such child absent from the Roll and the School Attendance Officer shall within a week of its absence so notified summon the parent to attend before the School Attendance Committee unless the Officer shall have received within a week a note in writing by the parent or guardian giving a reasonable excuse for the child's absence.
7. A Magistrate may, in his discretion, inflict upon the parent or guardian a fine not exceeding £1 or a term of imprisonment not exceeding 1 month without the option of a fine, where the parent or guardian shall have been proved to have neglected to secure the attendance of the child at school.

## Note C.

## (2) HEADS OF PROPOSED JUVENILE WORKERS' ACT

(To supplement "Employment of Children Act, 1903.")

A Juvenile Worker shall be a person employed under the age of eighteen years.

The local authority may make such regulations in respect of Juvenile Workers in any occupations in their district concerning the following matters:—

- (a) Hours of work.
- (b) Time for meals.
- (c) Medical inspection under the Local Government Board.
- (d) Attendance at Continuation or Technical Classes in Schools under either the Board of National Education or the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction.
- (e) In default of a local authority making such above provisions the Commissioners of National Education or the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction may make such bye-laws as they may direct to be carried out by the local authority.

## Note D.

## COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE AT CONTINUATION CLASSES.

The principle is already found in the Education (Scotland) Act of 1908, wherein it is enacted:—

Section 10 (3). "It shall be lawful for a School Board . . . to make bye-laws requiring the attendance at Continuation Classes, until such age not exceeding seventeen years . . . of young persons above the age of fourteen years within their district who are not otherwise receiving a suitable education."

Under this section, for instance, the School Board of Glasgow, in the year 1911, made the following Bye-laws requiring that every young person who has not satisfied the Board that he has obtained, *inter alia*, the "Merit Certificate" in his Day School

"shall be bound to attend a Continuation Class for such  
 "number of attendances as will make a total equivalent  
 "of two years in a supplementary course."



In these bye-laws a Continuation Class is defined as a class meeting at 7 p.m. on every Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday or Thursday from 4th January to 30th June, inclusive, and from 1st September to 24th December, inclusive, in each year. Attendance at a class means attendance throughout a class meeting of two hours.

The expression "two years in a supplementary course" means attendance for at least 90 per cent. of the possible number at the classes of the Course for 80 weeks.

"Every employer shall, when and as often as required by the Board, furnish a list (showing addresses, ages and particulars of the hours of employment) of all young persons in his employment."

"If the Board shall determine that a young person's hours of employment are such as will interfere with his attendance as required by the bye-laws, the Board shall notify the employer of their determination."

"Any requirement or demand made by the Board in terms of these bye-laws shall be binding on any young person, parent or employer, if made by written notice served by post or by hand of a teacher, officer, or other servant of the Board."

Such Classes correspond to the Standard of an Irish Evening Elementary School, with Manual Instruction added to the programme.

Under the General Post Office all Telegraph Messengers are required to attend, where it is possible, evening classes up to 16 years. The messengers are given the opportunity of presenting themselves for examination for entrance to the higher grades of the service, and for these they are directly prepared in the local school. In Dublin such a school has been in progress for some years, and, in the Sackville Street premises, had an excellent gymnasium and "Messengers' Institute" attached.

The Dublin Corporation have now amended the Street Trading Bye-laws under the Employment of Children Act, 1903, by the addition of the following requirement of all Juvenile Street Traders between 14 and 16 years:—

(k) Every licence-holder shall attend regularly a Continuation Class or School approved by the Commissioners of National Education for Ireland, and shall, in addition, keep him or herself registered at the City Labour Exchange as an applicant for some suitable employment." This has been duly approved by the Lord Lieutenant.

There are few schools in Dublin to meet the needs of the situation, six for boys and 1 for girls being the number of Evening Elementary Schools under the Board of National Education, and at present scarcely conduct classes at hours and in subjects suitable to the exigent needs of the Dublin newsboys.

The Public Health Committee have under consideration the summoning of a Conference of all parties interested to establish suitable classes and organise an effective administration of the bye-law.

There are thus hopes that a blot upon the civic life of Dublin may be ultimately removed—the degraded and ignorant condition of the young newsvendor. The Local Government Board might well urge other local authorities to take similar action.

## THE FOUNDATIONS OF COLONIAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

BY SIR JOHN R. O'CONNELL, M.A., LL.D.

[Read, April 27th, 1917].

The assembling of representatives of the self-governing Dominions and of India for the Second Imperial Conference, which is now taking place in London, has suggested to me the propriety of inviting the attention of this Society to the foundations and development of the constitutions of the self-governing Communities of the Empire and their relations, both fiscal and constitutional, with the Imperial Government. I approach this inspiring subject with much diffidence, because I am conscious that some of the questions which present themselves require for their discussion a familiarity with constitutional law and principles and a knowledge of Colonial history, which I do not possess. In spite of these difficulties in my task, and conscious of my inability to discharge it adequately, I venture to lay before you this evening a summary of the constitutions under which what I may describe as our greater Colonies have made such amazing progress in population and in material prosperity, because it seems to me that there never was a time when full and accurate knowledge of the principles and development of Colonial Self-Government was so necessary as it is to-day.

Such a survey seems to me to be eminently within the province of this Society. We have again and again considered our fiscal system in its different aspects, so far as it concerns this country alone and as related to England. The manifold problems arising in reference to the regulation, encouragement and extension of trade have from time to time been discussed. Questions of taxation of food and other commodities have received much attention. The Society has from time to time considered the amendment and extension of certain forms of legislation regulating semi-Imperial interests, which might with advantage be made

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NOTE.—This paper was read at a Meeting of the Statistical and Social Enquiry Society of Ireland on 27th April, 1917, and is now published by permission of the Society. The Author, while thanking the Society for leave to publish this paper, wishes it to be understood that for the statements and conclusions in it he alone is responsible.

part of the common body of jurisprudence of the entire Empire. Various other problems of concern to the Empire, as a whole, have from time to time been the subject of our discussions. I think it may fairly be claimed that a better understanding of such Imperial problems will be helped by a knowledge of the machinery by which the law-making functions of the various parts of the Empire are regulated. This investigation is well worthy of the attention of all those who believe that all wise government is based on legislation by the people for the people, and who are convinced that the prosperity of any country depends upon the recognition of the right of its people to make their own laws for the ordering of their own affairs.

There is another reason why I think this subject is worthy of your attention. There was a period extending over several generations, and coming down almost to our own day, during which the Mother Country did not realise the moral and material advantages to be derived from the possession of her colonies. A certain school of political thought in England seemed to assume, as a matter of course, that as soon as the Colonies attained a certain standard of power and organisation that a desire would arise to sever their connection with the Mother Country, and further, that when this time came, no obstacle ought to be put in their way. The Colonies, on the other hand, conscious of the influence of this train of thought, felt that the Mother Country regarded with indifference the immense struggle in which they were engaged to overcome the untamed forces of nature, and to establish at the other ends of the world for people of the English-speaking races a reign of social order and constitutional government based on principles under which they had lived and which they had learned to value at home. There was a period within the memory of some of us when, under the influence of sentiments such as these, the Colonies might one by one, as they came to the plenitude of their strength, have broken off from the Mother Country almost without any effort on her part to retain them. Happily, these short-sighted views gave place to a wiser policy. The inspiring conception of a group of states all enjoying free institutions, self-governing, increasing in prosperity and power, came to be widely accepted, while the material advantages of the trade of these prospering countries, and the benefit of their strength and help, are now fully recognised, with the result that the bonds which unite our Colonies to us are being drawn ever closer and closer. The events of the past few years, and the part which the Over-seas peoples have taken in the present



War, prove that the time has arrived for a closer union for the purposes of Imperial Administration.

It is inconceivable that we should continue to accept the services and sacrifices of the sons of the Empire beyond the seas, that we should take all the soldiers they can send us, and the additions to our War Ships which they offer us, and that their coasts should remain exposed as part of the territory of the Empire to hostile attack, while we withhold from them any voice in the administration of Imperial affairs. It seems to me to be inevitable that as soon as peace is established a complete reconstruction of the Imperial fabric must be effected, based on the principle that all Imperial concerns—Peace and War—the Army and the Navy—the relations between nations carried on by diplomacy, International and Imperial trading, the relations between the Empire, as a whole, and foreign countries in trade and otherwise, the establishment of a Supreme Court of Law for ultimate appeal for the Empire, and, so far as possible, the assimilation of all forms of constitutional government for its different parts—so far as those parts are ready for it—are all matters which interest and affect our Colonies hardly less than the United Kingdom, and, therefore, that their right to a voice in their conduct must be admitted. This tremendous struggle in which the Empire is engaged must profoundly modify many things, and it is evident that it cannot fail to involve a complete readjustment of the relations between the Mother Country and the Dominions, based on the principle that there must be adequate Imperial administration and defence for every part of the Empire, the burden of which must be borne proportionately by the Empire as a whole.

The British Empire, as it exists to-day, is composed of a large number of States, scattered over the entire globe and administered under the widest possible variety of forms of government. Firstly, we have the great self-governing Communities, built up through generations, and even in some cases through centuries of self-sacrifice and of elemental struggle, by the people of these islands—the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australasia, the Union of South Africa, and the Dominions of Newfoundland and New Zealand—all enjoying full responsible government with fiscal autonomy and complete control of their own affairs, with ministers elected by Parliament and answerable for the conduct of public affairs to the Parliament which elects them.

Secondly, we have certain colonies, such as Bahamas, Barbadoes, Bermudas, Jamaica, Malta, and others, the affairs of which are administered by a Council partly elective and promulgation of Orders in Council.

The third group comprises colonies such as Hong-Kong, Trinidad, Gold Coast, Fiji Isles, Ceylon, British Honduras, and others, which are governed by a purely nominated Council, and in which the Crown has a direct power of legislation, even irrespective of the nominated Council, by promulgation of Orders in Council.

A fourth type of Colonial Government is that which is administered by a Governor appointed by the Crown, who administers the affairs of such Crown Colonies without either the control or advice of any representative of the subjects of these Colonies; and somewhat similar to these there are certain Colonies the affairs of which are administered as Protectorates under the Colonial Office, the Foreign Office, the Indian Government, or the Admiralty.

I propose to deal only with the first group of these States—those enjoying full responsible Government under freely-elected Parliaments which have complete control of all the affairs of the countries which elect them, administered by a responsible Government, answerable to the electors by their own chosen representatives in Parliament. These Colonies may be considered, as regards their form of government, as of two kinds—Federal Colonies, such as the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australasia and the Union of South Africa, and Unitary Colonies, such as the Dominions of Newfoundland and New Zealand. The oldest of these great self-governing communities—that which is now known to us as the Dominion of Canada, consists of the Province of Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia, with Yukon, which was admitted into the Dominion in 1895. The first step in Canadian self-government goes back to 1764, when the Colony, which then consisted of three administrative districts—Quebec, Three Rivers, and Montreal—was placed under a single government, and provision was made for the calling of a General Assembly; but, as the French Canadians objected to the form in which the Test Oath was proposed to be administered, no Assembly ever met. Ten years later the English Parliament, as it then was, passed the “Quebec Act,” which confided the government to a Governor and Legis-

lative Council all nominated by the Crown. Even in its imperfect form, the benefits of local control over local interests became so manifest that, in 1769, Prince Edward Island was erected into a separate Colony, and in 1784 New Brunswick and Cape Breton also received representative institutions. A few years later—in 1791—Canada was divided up by Act of Parliament into two Provinces: Upper Canada, now corresponding with the Province of Ontario, and Lower Canada, now corresponding with the Province of Quebec, and this province was given a legislative Council or Upper House nominated by the Crown, and a House of Assembly elected by the people on a limited franchise.

In the first thirty years of the nineteenth century the principles of democratic government and the responsibility of the executive Government to the legislative authority had not yet been settled, and thus there resulted a struggle in Lower Canada, and to a somewhat less extent in the other Province, for supremacy between the elected House of Assembly and the Executive.

In 1837 the increasing antagonism between the Executive Authorities and the Legislature culminated in rebellion, which broke out in Upper as well as in Lower Canada. The only significance which that episode now has for us lies in the fact that the causes which produced the armed rebellion of 1837 are precisely those which have produced similar results wherever the same disturbing causes exist. In Upper Canada (Ontario) a narrow clique known as "the Family Compact" monopolised all influence in the Executive Council and the Government to the exclusion of the elected representatives of the people and the reservation of large tracts of land for the endowment of the Anglican Clergy was bitterly resented by the non-conformist settlers. In Lower Canada (Quebec), the rapid increase of English settlers caused the French Canadians to feel that their security was threatened, and that the new settlers, different alike in origin and in creed, would diminish the political influence which they had so long exercised uncontrolled.

The problem of Colonial Government had not yet been solved. The essential principle of the responsibility of the Executive to the majority of the Lower House, or elective chamber, had not yet been recognised. A considerable part of the Colonial revenue was raised not by resolution of the Legislature, but under the authority

of Imperial Acts, and was administered by the Governor and his Council without the control or concurrence of the legislative body. Moreover, being dependent for their positions on the approval of the Colonial Office, the Governor and his Council transferred to London the settlement of all matters of any importance, though, needless to say, the Colonial Office could not be properly cognisant of conditions in the country while, unfortunately, for a long period it was out of sympathy with the aspirations of the Canadians. Though from 1826 onwards the Mother Country adopted a policy of killing Canadian self-government by kindness, she could not bring herself to adopt the essential principle of granting to the Colonists the control of their own affairs. Happily for the future of Canada, Lord Durham was sent out as Governor-General and High Commissioner. That great administrator—to whom, with his friends, Edward Gibbon Wakefield and Charles Buller, is due perhaps more than any other man the consolidation of the Empire in its early days—was only five months in Canada when, owing to the vehement attacks of Lord Brougham in Parliament, he was recalled. This short experience, however, was sufficient to enable Lord Durham to grasp the fundamental principles of Colonial government, and to prepare a report, which not only laid down the framework of the constitution of Canada, but may be said to form the basis of the constitutional system of all the Self-Governing Colonies of to-day. As the result of Lord Durham's report, an Act was passed in 1840, by which the two provinces were re-united with a partly-elected legislative council and a wholly-elected legislative assembly consisting of an equal number of members from each province. The grant of responsible government in Canada was followed a few years later by the establishment of the same system in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. The increase in prosperity and in population, especially in Upper Canada, led to the demand for increased representation in the Canadian Legislation—a claim which was strenuously resisted by Lower Canada. As the struggle proceeded, it became evident that the only satisfactory solution would be the separation of the two provinces and their reunion under a Federation into which the other Colonies in North America should be admitted. Accordingly, in 1867, the British North America Act (30 Vic., cap. 3) was passed which united Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia into the Federal Dominion of Canada. The Act (Sec. 146) provided that



Columbia and Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island and Ruperts Land and the North-west Territory, might be admitted into the Federation with the consent of the Dominion, and under this provision Manitoba entered the Federation in 1870, British Columbia in 1871, Prince Edward Island in 1873, Yukon in 1898, and Saskatchewan and Alberta in 1905.

The Executive of the Dominion of Canada, as it exists to-day is vested in the Crown, and is exercised by a Governor-General appointed by the Crown, who is advised by a Privy Council chosen and summoned by him. The Cabinet is a Committee of the Privy Council, formed of the principal members of the Government. The supreme legislative power is vested in a Parliament consisting of the King, a Senate, and a House of Commons. The Senate consists of ninety-six members, appointed for life by the Governor-General. Each member of the Senate must have a property qualification of \$4,000, must be 30 years of age, and must reside within the province for which he is appointed, and he receives an allowance of \$2,500 per annum. The House of Commons consists of 234 members, and each member receives a maximum allowance of \$2,500 per session, with deductions for non-attendance. I have prepared the following tabulated statement, which will show at a glance the numbers of the Senate and the House of Commons of the Dominion Parliament and in Provincial Legislatures of the Provinces.

TABULAR STATEMENT showing the particulars of the Provinces of Canada and of the number of representatives in the Dominion Parliament and in the Provincial Legislatures of Canada.

1. PROVINCES.	2. Area in Square Miles.	3. Popula- tion.	4. How Con- stituted.	5. REPRESENTATION IN DOMINION PARLIAMENT.			9. Seat of Govern- ment of Provincial Legis- lature.	10. PROVINCIAL LEGISLATION.			13. Tenure.
				No. of Members in Senate.	Tenure.	No. of Members in House of Commons.		No. of Members in Legislative Council.	Tenure.	No. of Members in Legislative Assembly.	
Quebec ...	706,834	2,003,232	Imperial Act 30 Vic, cap. 3 (1867) and Amending Acts.	24	Nominated for life.	65	Elected for five years unless sooner dissolved.	24	Appointed for life.	81	5 years
Ontario ...	407,262	2,523,274	do.	24	do.	82	do.	—	—	111	4 years
Nova Scotia...	21,428	492,338	do.	10	do.	16	do.	21	Nominated for life.	38	5 years
New Brunswick	27,985	351,889	do.	10	do.	11	do.	—	—	48	5 years



The legislative powers of the Dominion Parliament, and of the Legislative Assemblies of the Provinces of Canada, are specifically defined in Sections 91 and 92 of the British North America Act, 1867. In view of the importance of these provisions, I have considered it desirable to set them out in full.

## VI.—DISTRIBUTION OF LEGISLATIVE POWERS.

### POWERS OF THE PARLIAMENT.

91. It shall be lawful for the Queen, by and with the advice and Consent of the Senate and House of Commons, to make Laws for the Peace, Order and good Government of Canada, in relation to all Matters not coming within the Classes of Subjects by this Act assigned exclusively to the Legislatures of the Provinces: and for greater Certainty, but not so as to restrict the Generality of the foregoing Terms of this Section, it is hereby declared (notwithstanding anything in this Act) the exclusive Legislative Authority of the Parliament of Canada extends to all Matters coming within the Classes of Subjects next hereinafter enumerated: that is to say:—

1. The Public Debt and Property.
2. The Regulation of Trade and Commerce.
3. The raising of Money by any Mode or System of Taxation.
4. The borrowing of Money on the Public Credit.
5. Postal Service.
6. The Census and Statistics.
7. Militia, Military and Naval Service, and Defence.
8. The fixing of and providing for the Salaries and Allowances of Civil and other Officers of the Government of Canada.
9. Beacons, Buoys, Lighthouses, and Sable Island.
10. Navigation and Shipping.
11. Quarantine and the Establishment and Maintenance of Marine Hospitals.
12. Sea Coast and Inland Fisheries.
13. Ferries between a Province and any British or Foreign Country, or between Two Provinces.



14. Currency and Coinage.
15. Banking, Incorporation of Banks, and the Issue of Paper Money.
16. Savings Banks
17. Weights and Measures.
18. Bills of Exchange and Promissory Notes.
19. Interest.
20. Legal Tender.
21. Bankruptcy and Insolvency.
22. Patents of Invention and Discovery.
23. Copyrights.
24. Indians, and Lands reserved for the Indians.
25. Naturalisation and Aliens.
26. Marriage and Divorce.
27. The Criminal Law, except the Constitution of Courts of Criminal Jurisdiction, but including the Procedure in Criminal Matters.
28. The Establishment, Maintenance, and Management of Penitentiaries.
29. Such Classes of Subjects as are expressly excepted in the Enumeration of the Classes of Subjects by this Act assigned exclusively to the Legislatures of the Provinces.

And any Matter coming within any of the Classes of Subjects enumerated in this Section shall not be deemed to come within the Class of Matters of a local or private Nature comprised in the Enumeration of the Classes of Subjects by this Act assigned exclusively to the Legislatures of the Provinces.

## EXCLUSIVE POWERS OF PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES.

92. In each Province the Legislature may exclusively make Laws in relation to Matters coming within the Classes of Subjects next hereinafter enumerated: that is to say:—

1. The Amendment from Time to Time, notwithstanding anything in this Act, of the Constitution of the Province, except as regards the Office of Lieutenant-Governor.

2. Direct Taxation within the Province in order to the raising of a Revenue for Provincial Purposes.
3. The borrowing of Money on the sole Credit of the Province.
5. The Management and Sale of the Public Lands be- and the Appointment and Payment of Provincial Officers.
4. The Establishment and Tenure of Provincial Offices long to the Province and of the Timber and Wood thereon.
6. The Establishment, Maintenance and Management of Public and Reformatory Prisons in and for the Province.
7. The Establishment, Maintenance and Management of Hospitals, Asylums, Charities and Eleemosynary Institutions in and for the Province, other than Marine Hospitals.
8. Municipal Institutions in the Province.
9. Shop, Saloon, Tavern, Auctioneer, and other Licences, in order to the raising of a Revenue for Provincial, Local or Municipal Purposes.
10. Local Works and Undertakings other than such as are of the following Classes:—
  - (a) Lines of Steam or other Ships, Railways, Canals, Telegraphs, and other Works and Undertakings connecting the Province with any other or others of the Provinces, or extending beyond the Limits of the Province;
  - (b) Lines of Steam Ships between the Province and any British or Foreign Country;
  - (c) Such Works as, although wholly situate within the Province, are before or after their Execution declared by the Parliament of Canada to be for the general Advantage of Canada, or for the Advantage of Two or more of the Provinces.
11. The Incorporation of Companies with Provincial Objects.
12. The Solemnisation of Marriage in the Province.
13. Property and Civil Rights in the Province.
14. The Administration of Justice in the Province, including the Constitution, Maintenance and Organisation of Provincial Courts, both of Civil and of Criminal Jurisdiction, and including Procedure in Civil Matters in those Courts.

15. The Imposition of Punishment by Fine, Penalty or Imprisonment for enforcing any Law of the Province made in relation to any Matter within any of the Classes of Subjects enumerated in this Section.
16. Generally all Matters of a merely local or private Nature in the Province.

It is interesting to note, as an example of one type of self-governing constitution, that the Dominion Parliament has exclusive legislative power in all matters except those specifically delegated by the Constitution to the provincial legislatures—i.e., the residue of legislative power abides in the Dominion Parliament. Our other Commonwealth affords an example of the converse system under which certain specified subjects of legislation affecting the interests of the Commonwealth generally are surrendered by the Colonial legislatures to the Federal Parliament, while the residue of the powers of legislation remain in each Colonial legislature.

As this paper is concerned with the forms and framework of self-government rather than with the results produced by it, it is unnecessary that I should dwell on statistics of increase of population or growth of trade within the past fifty years in Canada.\* I think, how-

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\* The following table of population may be found to be interesting and suggestive :—

Provinces.	1871	1881.	1891.	1901.	1911.
Prince Edward Island ...	94,021	108,891	109,078	103,259	93,728
Nova Scotia ...	387,800	440,572	450,396	459,574	492,338
New Brunswick	285,594	321,233	321,263	331,120	351,889
Quebec ...	1,191,516	1,359,027	1,488,535	1,648,898	2,003,232
Ontario ...	1,620,851	1,926,922	2,114,321	2,182,947	2,523,274
Manitoba ...	25,228	62,260	152,506	255,211	455,614
Saskatchewan	—	—	—	91,279	492,432
Alberta ...	—	—	—	73,022	374,663
British Columbia	36,247	49,459	98,173	178,657	392,480
Yukon ...	—	—	—	27,219	8,512
Northwest Territories ...	48,000	56,446	98,967	20,129	18,481
<b>Totals for Canada</b>	<b>3,689,257</b>	<b>4,324,810</b>	<b>4,833,239</b>	<b>5,371,315</b>	<b>7,206,643</b>

ever, that I should call the attention of this Statistical Society to the immense advantage from the point of view of the development of her trade and commerce which Canada derives from the fact that she has control of her own customs, and that she is able to levy her own export and import duties. The exhaustive and searching analysis of statistics made available in the Canada Year Book, 1914—published in Ottawa in 1915—the last available—will be appreciated by anyone who has attempted the almost impossible task of reconstructing the statistics of Irish trade, and especially of Irish exports and imports, from the confused and imperfect returns available in this country as the necessary consequence of our present fiscal system.

Moving across the globe from the far North to the extreme South, we come to the other great self-governing community of members of the English-speaking race. It may be said to date its discovery from the arrival of that Captain Cook, whose travels and voyages were, I am sure, a source of wonder and of delight to the boyhood of many members of this Society. In 1770, Captain Cook, on board H.M.S. "Endeavour," set sail for the Pacific to explore the Southern Seas, when, sailing South-westward, he discovered New Zealand, and thence, turning Eastward, he reached the east coast of Australia, where the naturalists

The following is a Summary by decades of the Exports and Imports, and of their values *per capita*, and for the last five years:—

AGGREGATE EXTERNAL TRADE OF CANADA, 1870-1915.

Years.	Total Exports.	Total Imports.	Aggregate trade of Canada.	Value per capita.			Ratio of Exports to Imports
				Ex-ports.	Im-ports.	Total Trade	
	\$	\$	\$	\$ cts.	\$ cts.	\$ cts.	p.c.
1870...	73,573,490	74,814,338	148,387,829	21.29	21.66	42.95	98.34
1880...	87,911,458	86,489,747	174,401,205	20.85	20.52	41.37	101.64
1890...	96,749,149	121,858,241	218,607,390	20.20	25.45	45.65	79.40
1900...	191,894,723	189,622,513	381,517,236	36.05	35.63	71.68	101.20
1910...	301,358,529	391,852,692	693,211,221	43.57	56.65	100.22	76.91
1911...	297,196,365	472,247,540	769,443,905	41.52	65.97	107.49	62.93
1912...	315,317,250	559,320,544	874,637,794	42.23	74.91	117.14	56.38
1913...	393,232,057	692,032,392	1,085,264,449	50.69	89.19	139.88	56.83
1914...	478,997,928	650,746,797	1,129,744,725	59.32	80.59	139.91	73.60
1915...	490,808,877	629,444,894	1,120,253,771	60.33	77.36	137.69	77.97



of his exploration party, on landing, were so amazed at the unknown and wonderful plants which there abounded that they christened the place Botany Bay. Captain Cook took possession of the entire of the Eastern Coastline in the name of the King, under the title of New South Wales. From shortly after this time until 1823, New South Wales, which was the first part of the Australian continent to be colonised, was administered, more or less inefficiently, by a succession of military governors. In 1823 the government by military administrators was superseded by Crown Colony Government, with a legislative Council of seven members, subsequently increased to fifteen—all nominated by the Governor. Two years later Tasmania—the next settlement to be established—became a separate colony with executive and legislative councils of a similar type. In 1842 the government of New South Wales was again enlarged, and the system of Crown Colony Government, with a wholly nominated council, gave place to government by legislative council consisting of thirty-six members, of which twenty-four were elected on a moderate franchise and twelve were nominated by the Crown. The Executive, however, remained in the hands of the Home Government. As the continent became more populated, and its future became more assured, the demand in various districts for local administration increased, with the result that in 1851, Victoria, South Australia and Tasmania each received separate constitutions under representative bodies, consisting of legislative councils partly nominated and partly elected on a limited franchise, the number of Crown nominated members being usually one-third, while the elected members were two-thirds. Five years later these representative constitutions gave place to full responsible government under the form of a Parliament consisting of a Legislative Council which, in New South Wales and Queensland, is appointed by the Crown for life, and in Victoria, Tasmania and South Australia was elected for a term of years, and a Legislative Assembly elected on a broad franchise. In 1859, after several years of rather acute agitation, Queensland separated from New South Wales, and was constituted as a separate Colony, when she had at once conferred upon her the enjoyment of the same responsible type of government which the other colonies then possessed. Thus within half a century of the colonisation of most of these districts they had all entered into the enjoyment of full legislative powers with the entire good-will of the Mother Country, and with a

benefit to these communities which it is impossible to overestimate. The latest chapter in the history of self-government in the Australian continent contains the story of the federation of these states. So far back as 1855, when the Colonies were vested with responsible government, the creation of a general assembly to deal with questions common to all the colonies was mooted, but the movement got no further until 1885, when an Act of Parliament was passed creating a council of delegates from each Colony which signified its willingness to join. Although this Federal Council possessed certain legislative functions, its main purpose was deliberative. It held meetings from 1886 to 1889, but as New South Wales declined to send delegates, and South Australia was only represented at the last conference, little progress was made towards the establishment of a Federal Council which should have executive as well as deliberative functions. In 1891 an Australian Convention met in Sydney and agreed on a draft bill to establish a Federal Commonwealth, but the bill aroused no popular enthusiasm, and failed to commend itself to any of the Colonial legislatures. Although this measure obtained no large measure of support, the principles underlying it became more and more acceptable to the peoples of Australia, with the result that in 1895 the premiers of all the Australian Colonies decided to ask their legislatures to pass a bill enabling the electors to select ten persons to represent each colony at a new convention. The result of this conference of the elected representatives of the Colonies—other than Queensland, which was not represented—was a bill which was submitted to the votes of the electors for acceptance or rejection. In Victoria, Tasmania and South Australia the bill was approved by large majorities. In New South Wales the majority in favour of the bill was insufficient, under the enabling Act of that state, to allow it to be carried. Western Australia stood out, as New South Wales would not come in, and Queensland did not join in the negotiations. The negotiations were resumed in a more constructive spirit in the following year at a conference of the Prime Ministers, in which Queensland was represented, and certain alterations were then made to meet the objections of New South Wales. A bill for a referendum on the subject was then submitted to the New South Wales legislature. After a struggle between the two houses, which had to be ended by the appointment by nomination of twelve new members to Senate to overcome

the opposition of the Upper House, the Bill passed, and this time on the Referendum the Federation Bill was accepted by a substantial majority in New South Wales, a course which was followed by all the other Australian Colonies. This acceptance of the Federal Constitution by the Australian Colonies was approved by an Act of the Imperial Parliament, which received the Royal Assent on 9th July, 1900, and came into force on 1st January, 1901.

I annex a tabulated statement which I have prepared to show at a glance the constitutions of the Federal Parliament and the Colonial legislatures.

TABULAR STATEMENT showing particulars of the States of Australia, and of the number of representatives in the Commonwealth Parliament and in the State Legislatures of Australia.

1. STATES.	2. Area in Square Miles.	3. Popula- tion.	4. How Con- stituted.	5. REPRESENTATION IN COMMONWEALTH PARLIAMENT.			9. Seat of Govern- ment of State Legis- lature.	10, 11, 12. STATE LEGISLATURE.			13. Tenure.
				No. of Members in Senate.	Tenure.	No. of Members in House of Repre- sentation.		No. of Members in Legislative Council.	Tenure.	No. of Members in Legislative Assembly.	
New South Wales.	309,460	1,861,522	Common- wealth of Australia Constitu- tion Act, 1900 (Imperial Act) 63 and 64 Vic. c. 12.	6	Elected by the electors for term of six years.	27	Sydney ..	56	Nominated by the Crown for life.	90	—
Victoria ..	87,884	1,430,667	do.	6	—	21	Melbourne	24	Elected for six years.	65	Elected for three years.



South Australia.	380,070	441,690	do.	6	—	7	—	Adelaide	20	Nine Members retire every three years.	46	do.
Queensland ...	670,500	676,707	do	6	—	10	—	Brisbane	39	Nominated by Crown for life.	72	do.
Western Australia.	975,920	323,018	do.	6	—	5	—	Perth ...	30	Elected for six years.	50	do.
Tasmania ...	26,215	201,416	Do., and Constitu- tion Acts Amend- ment Act, 1911.	6	—	5	—	Hobart	18	do.	30	do.

The constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia differs in an essential feature from that of Canada. The Colonies of Australia remain self-governing States, with governors appointed by and responsible directly to the Crown through the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Each State retains full powers of taxation and of legislation, except in so far as they have delegated these powers—thirty-nine in number—to the Federal Parliament, and the residue of all legislative power for each Colony abides not in the Federal Parliament, but in its own Colonial Parliament. As I quoted the sections of the British North America Act of 1867, which defined the Powers of the Parliament of Canada, I think it may be useful for the purposes of comparison to quote sections 51 and 52 of the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act, 1900 (63 and 64 Vic., cap. 16), which defines the powers of the Federal Parliament.

## PART V.—POWERS OF THE PARLIAMENT.

51. The Parliament shall, subject to this Constitution, have power to make laws for the peace, order and good government of the Commonwealth with respect to:—

- (i.) Trade and commerce with other countries, and among the States.
- (ii.) Taxation; but so as not to discriminate between States or parts of States.
- (iii.) Bounties on the production or export of goods, but so that such bounties shall be uniform throughout the Commonwealth.
- (iv.) Borrowing money on the public credit of the Commonwealth;
- (v.) Postal, telegraphic, telephonic, and other like services.
- (vi.) The naval and military defence of the Commonwealth and of the several States, and the control of the forces to execute and maintain the laws of the Commonwealth.
- (vii.) Lighthouses, lightships, beacons and buoys.

- (viii.) Astronomical and meteorological observations.
- (ix.) Quarantine.
- (x.) Fisheries in Australian waters beyond territorial limits.
- (xi.) Census and statistics.
- (xii.) Currency coinage, and legal tender.
- (xiii.) Banking, other than State banking; also State banking extending beyond the limits of the State concerned, the incorporation of banks, and the issue of paper money.
- (xiv.) Insurance, other than State insurance; also State insurance extending beyond the limits of the State concerned.
- (xv.) Weights and measures.
- (xvi.) Bills of exchange and promissory notes.
- (xvii.) Bankruptcy and insolvency.
- (xviii.) Copyrights, Patents of inventions and designs, and trade marks.
- (xix.) Naturalisation and aliens.
- (xx.) Foreign corporations, and trading or financial corporations formed within the limits of the Commonwealth.
- (xxi.) Marriage.
- (xxii.) Divorce and matrimonial causes; and, in relation thereto, parental rights, and the custody and guardianship of infants.
- (xxiii.) Invalid and old-age pensions.
- (xxiv.) The service and execution throughout the Commonwealth of the civil and criminal process and the judgments of the courts of the States.
- (xxv.) The recognition throughout the Commonwealth of the laws, the public acts and records, and the judicial proceedings of the States.
- (xxvi.) The people of any race, other than the aboriginal race, in any State, for whom it is deemed necessary to make special laws.
- (xxvii.) Immigration and emigration.
- (xxviii.) The influx of criminals.
- (xxix.) External affairs.
- (xxx.) The relations of the Commonwealth with the islands of the Pacific.
- (xxxi.) The acquisition of property on just terms from any State or person for any purpose in respect of which the Parliament has power to make laws.

- (xxxii.) The control of railways with respect to transport for the naval and military purposes of the Commonwealth.
- (xxxiii.) The acquisition, with the consent of a State, of any railways of the State on terms arranged between the Commonwealth and the State.
- (xxxiv.) Railway construction and extension in any State with the consent of that State.
- (xxxv.) Conciliation and arbitration for the prevention and settlement of industrial disputes extending beyond the limits of any one State.
- (xxxvi.) Matters in respect of which this Constitution makes provision until the Parliament otherwise provides.
- (xxxvii.) Matters referred to the Parliament of the Commonwealth by the Parliament or Parliaments of any State or States, but so that the law shall extend only to States by whose Parliament the matter is referred, or which afterwards adopts the law.
- (xxxviii.) The exercise within the Commonwealth, at the request or with the concurrence of the Parliaments of all the States directly concerned, of any power which can at the establishment of this Constitution be exercised only by the Parliament of the United Kingdom or by the Federal Council of Australasia.
- (xxxix.) Matters incidental to the execution of any power vested by this Constitution in the Parliament or in either House thereof, or in the Government of the Commonwealth, or in the Federal Judicature, or in any department or officer of the Commonwealth.

52. The Parliament shall, subject to this Constitution, have exclusive power to make laws for the peace, order and good government of the Commonwealth with respect to—

- (i.) The seat of Government of the Commonwealth, and all places acquired by the Commonwealth for public purposes.
- (ii.) Matters relating to any department of the public service the control of which is by this Constitution transferred to the Executive Government of the Commonwealth.
- (iii.) Other matters declared by this Constitution to be within the exclusive power of the Parliament.



The following particulars, showing the increase in the population of the Commonwealth of Australia, and in the development of its trade, may be of interest:—

TABLE OF POPULATION.

Year.			Total Population.
1860	...	...	1,145,585
1870	...	...	1,647,756
1880	...	...	2,231,531
1890	...	...	3,151,355
1900	...	...	3,765,339
1910	...	...	4,425,083
1911	...	...	4,568,707
1912	...	...	4,733,359
1913	...	...	4,872,059
1914	...	...	4,940,952

Oversea Trade of the Commonwealth of Australia from 1863 to 1913.

YEAR.	RECORDED VALUE.			VALUE PER INHABITANT.			Per-centage of Exports on Imports.
	Imports.	Exports.	Total.	Imports.	Exports.	Total.	
	£1,000.	£1,000.	£1,000.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	Percent.
1863	21,248	19,336	40,584	17 4 7	15 13 7	32 18 2	91·0
1873	24,567	26,370	50,937	13 17 10	14 18 2	28 16 0	107·4
1883	35,454	30,058	65,512	14 9 9	12 5 8	26 15 5	84·8
1893	23,765	33,225	56,990	7 2 7	9 19 4	17 1 11	139·8
1903	37,811	48,250	86,061	9 14 3	12 7 10	22 2 1	127·6
1913	79,749	78,572	158,321	16 12 0	16 7 2	32 19 2	98·5

When we turn to our Colonial possession in South Africa it becomes unnecessary to trouble you with a history of the origin and gradual development of self-government in the States which now compose the Union of South Africa as the legislative assemblies of those Colonies were extinguished by and merged in the Union of South Africa under the South Africa Act, 1909 (9 Edward 7, ch. 9) passed by the Parliament of the United Kingdom on 20th September,

1909. This great Constitutional Act may be fairly claimed to be the greatest proof which has ever been given of that success which has never failed to attend self-governing institutions of the English-speaking races in any quarter of the globe. The events of South African history are so recent that they are familiar to every member of this Society. The sorrows of the South African War of 1899-1902 have left their mark deeply written in the hearts and the memories of many at home hardly less than in South Africa itself. It is unnecessary to refer to the causes of that struggle. They were so far-reaching that they divided South Africa from end to end by the deeply-sundering lines of cleavage of nationality and of race. As we are learning hour by hour War is an appalling calamity, and not the least appalling aspect of it, alike for the victors and the vanquished, is its terrible result in material destruction, in homesteads destroyed, in the ruin of farms and granaries and barns, in the rooting up and wiping out of existence of those things which are relied upon almost as a matter of course for the permanent food supply of the nation. We may well believe that the South African War exhibited nothing of the unparalleled ferocity which is decimating the country from which the Central Powers are now reluctantly but rapidly withdrawing. It would, however, be idle to deny that much suffering and much material loss to the settlers of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State followed the three years' campaign, and this material damage must have been increased and rendered more difficult of repair as it extended over so large an area in a pastoral and thinly-populated country. The fact that a sum of at least £17,000,000—most of which was advanced by the Home Government—had to be spent on repairing the ravages of that war is but a slight indication of the magnitude of the struggle and of the miseries which followed in its train. And yet six years after the Transvaal and the Orange Free State were overrun and conquered, the path of true statesmanship, alike courageous and prudent—as we all recognise it to have been—clearly lead in the direction of giving back to these peoples all that at an immense price of suffering and of effort and of wealth we had taken from them, and, in common with the older Colonies of Cape of Good Hope and of Natal, of welding them into a Union governed by a Parliament elected on the broadest basis and endowed with powers wider than had ever before been confided to any Parliament within the Empire. The recent chapters in the History of the Union

of South Africa, the successful campaign in German South-west Africa under General Botha, and the splendid services of the South African contingent in the field, have emphatically proved that the courage which established the Union of South Africa has been amply justified.

It may be of interest to recall briefly the events which immediately led up to the establishment of the Union of South Africa. They are very fully set out in "the Minutes of Proceedings of the South African National Convention" published by the South African Government in 1911, to which anyone interested in these matters will do well to refer.

The grant of full self-government to the Transvaal in 1906 and to the Orange River Colony in 1907 forced on the attention of the statesmen of South Africa a variety of problems which it became increasingly evident could best be dealt with by united action on the part of a majority of, if not all, the colonies of South Africa. The problems of Asiatic immigration, of agriculture, of the mining industry, and especially the tariff question, forced to the front the vaster problem of which these were phases. A Convention of representatives of the South African governments assembled to confer as to tariff regulations gave place to a Convention summoned to consider Union. In May, 1908, an inter-colonial Conference, assembled at Pretoria, passed a resolution declaring that the best interests and the permanent prosperity of South Africa could only be secured by an early Union under the Crown of Great Britain of the several self-governing colonies; that the members agreed to submit the resolution to the Legislatures of their respective colonies and to take such steps as might be necessary to obtain their consent to the appointment of delegates to a National South African Convention, whose object should be "to consider and report on the most desirable form of South African Union and to prepare a draft Constitution." It was further resolved that the Convention should consist of not more than twelve delegates from Cape Colony, eight from the Transvaal, and five each from Natal and the Orange River Colony; and that Rhodesia might send three delegates, who should be entitled to speak but not to vote. The Legislative Councils and Legislative assemblies of the Cape of Good Hope, Natal and the Transvaal and the House of Assembly of the Orange River Colony within a few weeks passed resolutions approving of these recommendations and appointed delegates of the numbers proposed, and Rhodesia also came into line. The representatives of the four colonies

and Rhodesia met at Durban in Secret Session in October, 1908, and continued their sittings until 5th November, when they adjourned to 23rd November, when the sittings were resumed at Capetown, being continued until 3rd February, 1909. The Report of the Convention with the draft Bill was then submitted to the four South African Parliaments in Sessions specially summoned for that purpose and resolutions were passed by these Legislatures approving of the Bill. In the Colony of Natal the question whether it should enter into the Union was referred to the electors. A Referendum Act was passed to enable a ballot to be held to determine if Natal should join if certain amendments in the Bill proposed by that Colony were accepted. A Convention of the delegates was then held at Bloemfontein, which considered the amendments and the resolutions of the several Parliaments, and the Convention approved and passed its final report with the draft Bill in May, 1909. The Parliaments of Cape Colony, Transvaal and Orange River Colony met on 1st June, 1909, and having considered the amendments made in the Bill at the Bloemfontein Conference adopted it and requested His Majesty the King to cause the necessary steps to be taken for the authorisation of the proposed Union, and, at the same time, delegates were appointed by each of these Parliaments to proceed to London in connection with the passage of Bill through the Imperial Parliament. In the meantime the Referendum in the Colony of Natal took place and having resulted in a large majority in favour of the Union the Natal Parliament passed resolutions similar to those already passed by the other Colonial Legislatures and appointed delegates to represent it in London. The South African delegates on their arrival in London had conferences with the Secretary of State for the Colonies with the result that further amendments in the Bill were introduced, and thus amended it was passed rapidly through Parliament and received the Royal Assent on 20th September, 1909, and by a Royal Proclamation dated 2nd December, 1909, was brought into operation on 31st May, 1910.\*

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\*In connection with this account of the steps which led to the creation of the South African Union it may be interesting to refer the reader to the account of the movement towards Federation in Canada extracted from Cambridge Modern History, vol. xi., pp. 770-771:—

“The final phase in the movement toward Confederation began in 1864, both in Upper and Lower Canada and in the maritime provinces. In June of that year a Committee of the Legislative Assembly appointed



The constitutional form of this Union of South Africa, it is interesting to note, differs essentially from the Federation of the Canadian Provinces, or of that of the Australian Colonies. It is not a federation of self-governing States, but a Unitary State, a Union of four States which previously had been self-governing, and two of which had previously been semi-independent. Prior to the Union the affairs of the Cape Colony were administered by the Governor and an Executive Council nominated by the Crown. Natal was also governed in the same fashion, while the Orange Free State and the Transvaal were self-governing Colonies. These were now united under a government in which the executive power was vested in a Governor-General and an Executive Council, summoned and chosen by him, and the legislative power is vested in a Parliament

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to consider the administration of public affairs reported in favour of 'changes in the direction of a federal system,' applied either to Canada alone or to the whole of the British North American provinces. In September, 1864, the Government of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island sent delegates, who assembled at Charlottetown to devise measures for a legislative union of the three provinces. As soon as the new Coalition Government heard of the conference at Charlottetown, the decision was made to send a delegation to bring before the Assembly the much greater question of the Union of all the provinces. The delegates of the Canadian Government were cordially received at the Charlottetown Conference, and it was decided to hold a Conference at Quebec under the sanction of the Imperial Government. After an interval of six weeks thirty-three delegates representing all parts of the country met at Quebec on October 10, 1864, with full authority to thresh out the matter. The Quebec Convention sat in private for eighteen days, and the outcome of the discussion of the thirty-three public men who composed it—they represented all shades of opinion—was an elaborate document of seventy-two resolutions which was subsequently submitted to the Imperial Government, and became the foundation of the Act of Union.

"The Canadian Legislature, in the summer of 1865, adopted addresses to the Queen, in which were detailed proposals for the great constitutional reform. This was followed by a Conference in London (December, 1866) of delegates from Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, but not from Prince Edward Island. The Quebec resolutions, especially those which related to finance, were modified to meet the objections raised in the maritime provinces, but no other substantial change in the original scheme was adopted. So soon as the final details had been settled by the London Conference the Colonial Secretary introduced the historic measure, founded on the resolutions of the Quebec Convention, to the House of Lords on February 17, 1867. It was called an 'Act for the Union and Government of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick; and for purposes connected therewith.' It passed rapidly through both Houses of Parliament, received the Queen's assent on March 29 as 'the British North America Act, 1867,' and came into force on July 1 as the law of the Dominion of Canada."



consisting of the King, represented by the Governor-General, a Senate consisting of forty members, of which number eight are nominated for a period of ten years, and thirty-two are chosen by the four provinces, eight being returned by each, and a House of Assembly consisting of 130 members, of which the Cape of Good Hope returns 51; Natal, 17; Transvaal, 45; and the Orange Free State, 17.

I have prepared in tabulated form a statement showing the constitution and membership of the Union Parliament and of the four Provincial Councils.

TABULATED STATEMENT showing the particulars of the four Provinces of the Union of South Africa, and the number of Representatives in the Union Parliament and in the Provincial Parliaments

1. PROVINCES.	2. Area in Square Miles.	3. Popula- tion.	4. How Con- stituted.	5. REPRESENTATIVES IN UNION PARLIAMENT.			9. Seat of Govern- ment of Provincial Legis- lature.	10. 11. PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURE.		
				No. of Members in Senate.	Tenure.	No. of Members in House of Assembly.		No. of Members in Provincial Council.	Tenure.	
Cape of Good Hope.	276,955	2,564,965	South Africa Act, 1909, 9 Ed. 7, cap. 9.	8	Elected for ten years by Members of House of Assembly and Provincial Council sitting together. Eight additional nominated by Governor- General in Council for ten years.	51	Capetown	51	Elected for three years.	—
Natal ...	35,290	1,194,048	do.	8	—	17	Pieter- maritzburg	25	—	—
Transvaal	110,426	1,684,212	do.	8	—	45	Pretoria	36	—	—
Orange Free State.	50,389	528,174	do	8	—	17	Bloemfon- tein.	25	—	—

As I have already quoted the sections of the Acts of Parliament defining the constitution and the powers of the Parliaments of Canada and Australia, it may be convenient that I should give the text of 59 Section of the 9 Ed. 7, chap. 9, which establishes the Union of South Africa. The Section, consisting of one short sentence, indicates the amplitude of the legislative powers vested in the Union. It is as follows:—"Parliament shall have full power to make laws for the peace, order and good government of the Union." The Provincial Councils of the four provinces have authority to deal with local matters, such as provincial finance, education (elementary), agriculture, charity, municipal institutions, local works, roads and bridges, markets, fish and game preservation, and all matters which, in the opinion of the Governor-General in council, are of a merely local or private nature in the province, and such other subjects as may be delegated to these Councils by the Union Parliament.

The three groups of self-governing States which I have now dealt with may be regarded as Federal Constitutions, although the Union of South Africa partakes more of the character of a Unitary State and less of the character of a Federation than either that of Canada or of Australia. It remains to examine the constitution of the other two self-governing Dominions which, consisting as each of them does of a single State, may be regarded as self-contained, and as freed from those problems of divergent, if not conflicting, aims and interests which sometimes arise in Federated Constitutions.

Newfoundland, our oldest Colony, which we have held continuously since 1623, was governed as a Crown Colony by a Military Governor, instructed from time to time by the Home Government until 1832. In that year Government was granted on a representative but not elective basis, with a nominated Legislature, to which, however, the Governor and his Executive Council were not responsible. This was abolished in 1855, when the Government of the Dominion was reconstituted. The Executive power was confided to the Governor, assisted by an Executive Council not exceeding nine members, and the Legislative power was conferred on the Parliament consisting of the King, represented by the Governor; the Legislative Council of 21 members, holding office for life and appointed as vacancies arise by the Ministry—thus giving these appointments a quasi elective character—and a House of Assembly of 36 members, elected for four years by the votes of the

people. Members of the Legislative Council receive \$120 per session, members of the Legislative Assembly receive \$200 or \$300 per session according as they are resident or not in St. John's, the seat of the Legislature. Manhood suffrage and secret ballot prevail. The administration is modelled on that of the Mother Country. From the dominant party in the House of Assembly a Ministry or Executive Council is formed consisting of nine members, and this body controls affairs subject, of course, to its continuing to retain the support of a majority in the elective chamber. In the Legislature is vested collectively the power of making laws; jurisdiction over public debt and property; taxation of civil powers; the raising of loans for the colony's credit; and the conducting of all the public services. The right of the Assembly or elective House to originate money bills is fully recognised, and the Upper Chamber never interferes in such enactments.

The Governor, who is also the Commander-in-Chief in and over the Dominion and its dependencies, has amongst other powers that of summoning, opening, proroguing and dissolving Parliament. He has also power to give or withhold consent to any Bills passed by both Chambers, or he can reserve them for the signification of the Royal pleasure. No bills become law until assented to by the Governor.

The other unitary Dominion of New Zealand was withdrawn from New South Wales, and was proclaimed a separate colony in 1841, under the administration of a military governor. Notwithstanding that the succeeding decade was characterised by almost constant unrest attributable to various causes, not the least being the imperfections of Crown Colony administration, representative institutions were conferred on New Zealand in 1852, which were superseded three years after by a form of responsible government consisting of a General Assembly composed of the Crown represented by the Governor and two Chambers, a nominated Upper Chamber known as the Legislative Council, and an elected lower chamber known as the House of Representatives. The Legislative Council consists of 37 members, who were appointed by the Crown for life prior to September, 1891, but those appointed after that date held their seats for seven years only. In 1915, this system was amended, and it was provided that the Legislative Council should be elected (except three members representing the Maori tribes, who may be nominated by the Governor); and at the first election, which took place

at the end of 1915, twenty-four members were elected, and the remainder 40 will be elected from time to time at future elections when the terms of office of the present sitting members come to an end. The House of Representatives consists of eighty members (including four Maoris), elected by the people for a term of three years on the basis of adult suffrage, the only qualification for the franchise being residence in the Dominion for one year and in an electoral division for one month and being of full age. The powers of the General Assembly of New Zealand are defined by the New Zealand Constitution Act, 1852 (15 & 16 Vic., cap. 72) which enactment has been again and again amended in many important particulars. The section with which this paper is most concerned is Section 53, which prescribes the powers of the General Assembly, and this section remains unaltered. It is as follows:—"It shall be competent for the General Assembly (except and subject as hereinafter mentioned) to make laws for the peace, order and good government of New Zealand provided that no such laws shall be repugnant to the laws of England, and that the laws so to be made by the said General Assembly shall control and supersede any laws or ordinances in anywise repugnant thereto which may be made or ordained prior thereto by any Provincial Council and any law or ordinance made or ordained by any Provincial Council in pursuance of the authority hereby conferred upon it and on any subject whereon under such authority as aforesaid, it is entitled to legislate, shall, so far as the same is repugnant to or inconsistent with any Act passed by the General Assembly be null and void." (The last paragraph of this section has ceased to be operative as the Provincial Councils were subsequently abolished by the Abolition of Provinces Act, 1875, except in respect of provincial laws passed prior to this Act and not repealed). Section 54 precludes the House of Representatives or the Legislative Council from passing any money appropriation bill out of the revenue of New Zealand unless the Governor shall first have recommended to the House of Representatives (the popular chamber) to make provision for the specific public service towards which the money is to be appropriated. It is well settled that all money bills must originate in the House of Representatives and that the Legislative Council has no control over the appropriation of the revenue.

The legislative authority of the General Assembly is sub-



ject to the restriction imposed by Sections 56, 57, 58 and 59 of the Constitution Act, 1852. Section 56 provides that whenever any bill has been passed by the Legislative Council and House of Representatives it shall be presented to the Governor for assent by the Crown and he shall declare according to his discretion but subject to the provisions of the Act and to instructions which may from time to time be given to him. On behalf of the Crown he may assent to the bill or refuse his assent or reserve it for the signification of the Royal pleasure (in which case the reserved bill shall have no force until assented to), or before declaring his pleasure in regard to any bill he may make such amendments as he may consider needful or expedient, and may return such bill with such amendments to either chamber as he may think most fitting for the consideration of that chamber.

Section 57 provides that the Crown may from time to time issue instructions to the Governor of New Zealand for his guidance in the exercise of the powers conferred upon him of assenting to, dissenting from or reserving for the signification of the pleasure of the Crown bills to be passed by the New Zealand Parliament and that it should be his duty to act in accordance with these instructions. It may be mentioned that by the Royal Instructions of the 26th of March, 1892, the following classes of bills were reserved for the signification of the pleasure of the Crown except in cases of urgent necessity, viz.:—

1. Divorce bills;
2. Bills whereby any grant of land, money or other donations or gratuity may be made to the Governor;
3. Bills affecting the currency of the Colony;
4. Bills imposing differential duties (other than those allowed by "The Australian Colonies Duties Act, 1873");
5. Bills inconsistent with Imperial treaties;
6. Bills interfering with the discipline or control of His Majesty's forces by land or sea;
7. Bills of an extraordinary nature, interfering with the Royal Prerogative, rights of non-resident subjects, or trade or shipping of the United Kingdom or its dependencies;
8. Bills containing provisions once disallowed or to which Royal Assent has been refused.

There is a further provision contained in Section 58 that any bill assented to by the Governor shall be transmitted to

the Secretary of State (for the Colonies) and it shall be lawful for His Majesty in Council within two years of its receipt to disallow such bill, and it shall thereupon become null and void. It is, of course, understood that the General Assembly of New Zealand is not precluded from legislating on the nine classes of subjects I have mentioned, but only that the Governor is precluded from giving his assent without referring them to the Secretary of State for the Colonies for the signification of the pleasure of the Crown. Subject to these restrictions there does not appear to be any limitation of the subjects over which the General Assembly of New Zealand has power to legislate.

Every member of the General Assembly of New Zealand is entitled to receive payment in relation to his attendance in the discharge of his Parliamentary duties at the rate of £200 per annum if a member of the Legislative Council and £300 if a member of the House of Representatives in addition to actual travelling expenses in once proceeding to and returning from the place of Meeting of the General Assembly, but Ministers of the Crown in receipt of a salary and the Speakers and Chairmen of Committees in both chambers are entitled only to the travelling expenses and not to the allowance to members. These fees are subject to deductions for non-attendance of one pound five shillings in the case of members of the Legislative Council and two pounds per diem in the case of members of the House of Representatives for every day of absence except five unless prevented by illness or other unavoidable cause to be decided and certified by the Speaker of the chamber to which the member belongs.

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The following tables of population and of trade extracted from the Official Year Book of New Zealand for 1915 may be of interest:—

YEAR.			Population (exclusive of Maoris and for annexed Pacific Islands to 31st December).		
			Males.	Females.	Totals.
1865	...	...	117,376	73,231	190,607
1874	...	...	194,349	147,511	341,860
1884	...	...	306,667	257,637	564,304
1894	...	...	363,763	322,365	686,128
1904	...	...	453,992	403,547	857,539
1914	...	...	568,161	527,833	1,095,994

## Total Trade Exports and Imports from 1865 to 1914.

YEAR.			Total Exports.	Total Imports.	Total Trade.
			£	£	£
1865	...	...	3,713,218	5,594,977	9,308,195
1874	...	...	5,251,269	8,121,812	13,373,081
1884	...	...	7,091,667	7,663,888	14,755,555
1894	...	...	9,231,047	6,788,020	16,019,069
1904	...	...	14,748,348	13,291,694	28,040,042
1914	...	...	26,261,447	21,856,095	48,117,542

The Legislature of New Zealand, which was raised to the status of a Dominion by Order in Council of 9th September, 1907, has full and complete control of all the affairs of the Dominion, including the assessment, imposition and collection of customs, revenue and taxes.

Having now reviewed in some detail the framework of the constitutions of those great self-governing States—Federal and Unitary—which are the glory of our Empire, and which are alike examples of and the strongest arguments for the success of free institutions, let me call attention to certain outstanding characteristics in these communities, which go far to explain their progress in population, in prosperity, and in increasing loyalty to the Mother Country. The first is the growth, sometimes rapid, sometimes slow, but always inevitable, of the principle of responsible self-government, which vests in the people as a whole, without distinction of class or creed or origin, the right to mould their own destiny, and to direct and control their own affairs on democratic lines untrammelled by any outside influences. We have seen how in nearly all these Colonies the executive government, originally in the hands of a military governor, sometimes advised by a nominated council, and sometimes wholly irresponsible, was gradually superseded by an administration in which some of the members of the executive were selected on the elective principle, and that the tendency has always been that the number of the elected representatives should be enlarged, and the number of the nominated representatives should be gradually reduced. This form of representative constitution has in its turn invariably given way to responsible government, in which all the members of the lower or popular chamber were elected, and a large proportion of the members of the upper chamber also were chosen by election. This system, again, in many cases has been, or is being, superseded by one in which both chambers derive their authority

from the people by election on the broadest possible franchise. This record proves the rule that no free people, who have, in however tentative a degree experienced the results of the power to control their own affairs, will ever rest satisfied until the full measure of autonomous government is established. An equally important principle disclosed by such a survey is, that not less essential to the development of a community than the freedom of its parliament is the right of that parliament to the unfettered direction and management of its own fiscal system. Without the control of taxation no power or authority can abide in parliament. The constitutional principle established by the House of Commons through generations of struggle that the first essential of effective legislation is control of taxation has been raised again and again under different forms and at different times in the history of our Colonial Empire, and so often as the question was raised so often did our Colonies insist that the grant of legislative power would mean nothing to them unless it carried with it the recognition of their unfettered control of the imposition and administration of taxes. Responsible government reduced to its essentials depends on the duty of a self-governing people to raise such taxes by their own authority as will suffice for the good government of their country on such a scale of expenditure as they may determine. This is what the self-governing colonies are doing to-day. It is to be noted that, while under cruder and earlier forms of administration some of the colonies from time to time were involved in serious financial embarrassments, it would not appear that since the granting of the complete fiscal autonomy which they now enjoy there has been any difficulty in maintaining financial stability, notwithstanding the largely increased expenditure which the more generous conception of the duties of a state held by some of the self-governing peoples, especially in Australia, involves.

Closely connected with the fiscal freedom enjoyed by Colonial parliaments is the right which has been asserted by all of them to raise part of their revenues, while protecting their own manufactures, by imposing tariffs not only against foreign states, but also against the Mother Country, with the correlative right to enter independently of the Mother Country into tariff treaties with foreign States, when satisfied that it is their interest to do so. In this connection it may be pointed out that by the Customs Tariff Act, 1908, passed by the Commonwealth Parliament of Australia, which imposed a new scale of Customs Duties, preference rates were conceded on certain "goods the produce or manufacture of the United Kingdom." Similarly, the Customs



Tariff Act, 1914, of Canada, amending an Act of 1907, gives the Governor in Council power to impose a surtax not exceeding 20 per cent. *ad valorem* in the case of goods imported from foreign countries which treat Canadian imports less favourably than those from other countries. The New Zealand Customs Duties Act, 1908, imposes a tariff with preferential abatements of a similar character.

As the Colonies assert the constitutional principle established in the Mother Country that taxation shall be imposed only by the authority of Parliament, so they also affirm the rule that taxation is the prerogative of the lower or popularly elective chamber, and that all money bills must originate in the lower House. Section 53 of the British North America Act, 1867, provides that "Bills for appropriating any part of the Public Revenue or for imposing any tax or import shall originate in the House of Commons." The Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act, 1900, provides (Sec. 53) that "Proposed laws appropriating revenue or monies, or imposing taxation, shall not originate in the Senate," and "The Senate may not amend proposed laws imposing taxation or proposed laws appropriating revenue or monies for the ordinary annual services of the Government. The Senate may not amend any proposed law so as to increase any proposed charge or burden on the people." The Union of South Africa Act, 1909, contains similar provisions.

The powers which flow from legislative independence necessarily imply complete authority over Patents, Copyright, Navigation, Coinage, Posts and Telegraphs, and similar matters. Their importance is increased by the fact that the laws affect not only those within the area of the legislative authority, but not seldom far outside its boundaries. This subject brings into view an aspect of the relations of the Mother Country to the Colonies which has not yet been referred to—i.e., the practice of the Parliament at Westminster to enact what are described as Imperial Acts affecting the self-governing Colonies and which declare the law on the subjects to which they refer, overriding any enactment of the Colonial legislative authority on the same subject. Without entering on the delicate question of the precise effect of Imperial Legislation in the self-governing Colonies, it will be sufficient to point out that under the British North America Act, 1867, the Dominion Parliament, and under the Commonwealth of Australia Act, 1900, the Commonwealth Parliament, are given powers to legislate in respect of Copyright Patents, Navigation, Naturalisation, Posts and Telegraphs, etc., Currency Coinage, etc., the Navy, Military, Militia and Defence. As I



have already pointed out, the powers of legislation vested in the Union of South Africa under the South Africa Act, 1909, were so wide that no enumeration of them was possible; it is, of course, admitted that the Union Parliament has power to make laws dealing with these subjects. In this connection it may be well to point out that the Copyright Act of 1911 is an Imperial Act, which extends throughout the whole of the Empire, but is not to be in force in a self-governing Dominion unless enacted by the Legislature thereof, either in full or with modifications to adapt it to the circumstances of the particular community.

A somewhat similar question arises in reference to the Army, Navy, Militia forces, and forces of Colonial Defence. As we are all aware, these forces are constitutionally independent of parliament. They are the forces of the King, and in the enactments which I have just referred to it is declared that the Command-in-Chief of the Naval and Military forces is vested in the King, or in the Governor-General as his representative. As at home, the only control over these forces which can be exercised by the Colonial legislatures is the indirect one which arises from providing the money for the Army or Navy by taxation. Under the Canadian and Australian Constitutions, there are explicit provisions enabling those parliaments to make laws on these subjects, although the Australian Act is less wide in its terms, and would seem to restrict the use of the Army or Navy to the "defence of the Commonwealth and of the several States," and "to execute and maintain the laws of the Commonwealth." These communities are protected by an establishment of Militia. The Canadian Militia Act of 1904, which provided for the appointment of a Minister of Militia and Defence and a Militia Council of four military members, and one finance member, establishes an active militia raised by voluntary enlistment for three years' service, or, in case of need, by compulsory enrolment by ballot, and a reserve militia, which has not yet been organised. The principal duties of the Militia are defined to be "to support the civil power, and to defend the country from aggression." In 1911 the Commonwealth of Australia adopted a new Defence Scheme under a system of compulsory training, beginning with cadets of 12 to 18 years of age, followed by one year in the Citizen Forces as recruits, after which the men remain as soldiers for seven years, ending, as a rule, at the completion of the twenty-sixth year. This Citizen Army—such is its official title, which extends over all the States of the Australian Commonwealth—numbers nearly 60,000 men. With the permanent Militia Senior Cadets, for those preparing for

admission to the Citizen Army and those who, after leaving it are enrolled in the Rifle Clubs, the number of the Australian Militia is about 235,000 men. The circumstances connected with an apprehended occupation of the Island of British New Guinea by Germany some years ago was the remote cause of bringing what is now known as "the Royal Australian Navy" into being. Queensland—it was before the days of Federation—fearing the invasion of New Guinea by Germany, occupied it herself. The Home Government refused to sanction this step, stating that the Colonies had no authority to annex neighbouring islands in the Pacific. Germany finding New Guinea abandoned by Australia, took possession of part of it, with the result that Great Britain was compelled to take effective occupation of the Southern part of the island. These events raised the question of the Naval Defence of the Australian Continent, and the Home Government took up the position that if the Colonies required the use and protection of the British Navy it was not unreasonable that they should make some payment towards its upkeep. Australia thereupon agreed to make to the Mother Country an annual contribution towards the expenses of the Royal Navy. After a few years, however, it came to be felt that this payment voted by the Commonwealth Parliament, but expended by the Admiralty in London without the Australian Ministry having any control over it, was contrary to the true principles of responsible government. It was considered that the funds voted by the Australian Parliament for Naval purposes should be administered by the Australian Government, who were answerable to the Commonwealth Parliament. The Imperial Government, assenting to this contention, provided the beginnings of an Australian fleet, on which King George conferred the title of "The Royal Australian Navy." The Commonwealth agree to provide a certain number of ships of different classes, which are to be manned so far as possible by Colonials. The Australian Navy is to be one of the three divisions of the Eastern Fleet, working with the China and East Indian Fleets, and to be under the Imperial Command in war time, but controlled by the Commonwealth Government in times of peace, its headquarters being at Sydney.

I may be permitted, before bringing this paper to a close, to note very briefly certain tendencies in legislation of modern peoples of the English-speaking races when exercising the rights of full self-government. Of the wisdom or otherwise of such tendencies, it is not necessary to express an opinion in this paper. I merely note them as interesting phenomena in the study of modern con-

stitutional self-government. The most obvious of these tendencies is to broaden the basis of franchise, to extend the right to the vote, and to render easier and simpler the mode in which it is obtained. The tendency is generally to reduce the amount of the property qualification if it has been imposed as a condition of acquiring the vote, and in some instances to abolish it completely—a course which has been adopted in New Zealand. Influenced by the same motives, the franchise has been extended in the Commonwealth and in New Zealand to women on the same qualification as to men. Probably as the result of this broad basis of representation, we may note a settled policy to enact legislation intended to produce a more general and equal distribution of wealth. Thus, there has been a continuous struggle in Australia to preserve the unsettled lands in the possession of the government so as to make the profits available for the benefit of the community at large; and, secondly, where government lands are being sold, to secure that they shall be disposed of in small lots in order to prevent the concentration of large tracts of land in the hands of single owners.

The third aspect of democratic legislation manifested in our Colonies at the present time is the attention devoted to laws having for their object the amelioration in the condition of the working classes and the poor. This tendency is especially noteworthy in the Commonwealths of Australia and New Zealand, where it has become so marked as to be confused in some cases with Socialism. In all the communities of the Australian continent a system of old age pensions are in force. Invalid and sickness benefits are also in vogue, and under an Act of the Federal Parliament, passed in October, 1912, a grant of £5 is paid to the mother of every child born in the Commonwealth. Throughout the Australian continent education between the ages of six and fourteen is free and compulsory. In Australia, also, much attention has been concentrated on temperance legislation, and on the control, restriction and diminution of the liquor traffic. Total prohibition has been the law in some parts of New Zealand for some years. A system of local option prevails in the Commonwealth, and recently all licensed premises have by law been closed at 6 p.m. The temperance party in Australia believe that they will be able to carry total prohibition at no distant date for the entire country.

In these Communities, also, much attention has been devoted to industrial legislation and to the methods for the prevention and settlement of labour troubles and wages disputes by the establishment of Arbitration boards, Wages

boards, and similar expedients. Generally, it may be affirmed that the marked tendency of Australian legislation is in the direction of advanced social reform in its various aspects. The circumstances of the Canadian Dominion are such as to render this tendency less marked, although it is believed to be generally influencing the trend of public opinion, especially in British Columbia and the other younger members of the Federation. Quite recently a very strong temperance movement has attained much success in many parts of the Dominion. Ontario has, as the Americans say, "gone dry" with total prohibition. More remarkable still, the entire of the younger States have adopted the same policy, so that, as a recent writer pathetically puts it, "from the Great Lakes to the Pacific Coast there will soon not be a single place where the wayfaring man can get a glass of intoxicating liquor." The creation of the Union of South Africa is so recent, and the events which have since followed it have been so strenuous, that it is impossible as yet to form any opinion as to the probable tendency of legislation, especially in view of the strongly conservative character of the Dutch native population, who constitute an unprogressive farmer element scattered over the four provinces, outnumbering as they do the European population by about four to one.

## WEIGHTS AND MEASURES AFTER THE WAR.

BY CHARLES A. STANUELL, M.A., J.P.,  
Ex-President.

[Read June 8, 1917.]

The title I have chosen for my paper may seem at first sight to be hardly suited for the present time when the world is full of wars and alarms, and comparatively few people are apparently thinking of commercial matters. I think I must therefore begin with some explanation as to how I came to the conclusion that it might be well to consider our system of weights, measures and coinage at the present time.

In my judgment the United Kingdom will be successful in the present awful struggle, but the country will suffer great injury to many trades and manufactures. We shall also be liable for enormous debts contracted in carrying out the greatest and most expensive war which has ever yet desolated the world.

In fact our resources as regards population, producing-power, and wealth will have been diminished, while at the same time we shall have incurred fresh and enormous liabilities. The National Debt will be at least ten times as great as it was before the war, perhaps twenty times as much, and the nation will have to bear the strain of raising the interest upon this enormous debt while our trade and commerce will have been seriously damaged or impaired by the general disturbance caused by the war in all commercial matters. We must contemplate the rebuilding of a half-ruined Empire, and to do this we have not only to restore our former business, but to develop it still further.

This, in my judgment, can only be done by increasing our trade, our commerce, our general sources of income as derived from our own and other countries, and at the same time removing, so far as we can do so, all possible hindrances to the spread of our trade with other nations.

Now, as regards the last, perhaps the very first difficulty which presents itself, and which greatly complicates our troubles is that our coinage is not by any means convenient. It is bad for us, but that is a trifle compared to the difficulty it causes with foreign traders, and, to make the



difficulty still greater, our idea of weights and measures, I cannot call it a system, is perfectly absurd. It is appallingly difficult even to ourselves. We are accustomed to the eccentricities of our weights and measures, which are many, and their difficulties, which are manifold, but, being used to them, we accept them as inevitable.

I do not know how much time is actually bestowed upon arithmetic in our schools, but I do know that a very large percentage of the arithmetic lessons consist in endeavouring to teach children to memorise our weights and measures.

This simply means so much time taken up which might be far more profitably devoted to other branches of education, for instance, time might be found for foreign languages, which is one of our many "neglects." As a matter of fact our disregard of foreign languages may in part be ascribed to the fact that there is no time for them in our schools, owing to the complications of our bad arithmetical system. In my school we had five working hours, apart from preparation. One hour went daily to arithmetic, mostly tables and sums in reduction in the junior classes, half-an-hour twice a week to French.

To return to the subject, here is a specimen of our present coinage.

4 Farthings	make	1 penny.
12 Pence	„	1 shilling.
20 Shillings	„	1 pound.

When your attention is called to it you will observe that there is no fixed system. It by no means follows that because 12 pence make a shilling therefore twelve shillings make a pound. The number of units of small capacity required to make up the next larger denomination is purely arbitrary. This peculiarity is not confined to coinage, the same want of system or regularity prevails throughout, in fact our coinage is the least of our troubles.

This is bad for ourselves, but it is worse for foreigners. They have little knowledge of our coinage, and absolutely none of our weights and measures (small blame to them, say I) and hence they cannot readily tell what our coinage and weights and measures represent as compared with those to which they have been accustomed.

Hence in the very first opening of commercial relations with foreigners there is a most serious difficulty, the fact that we have a highly defective system of coinage, weights and measures.

It must be borne in mind that all commerce is practically the exchange of one commodity against another, money is only the medium through which this is effected, and when

we measure goods and commodities in tons and the foreigner measures in kilograms, there is apt to be a difficulty.

I think it is clear to any reasonable man that the fact that our weights, measures and coinage are destitute of any system causes damage, and hinders our commerce, and until some rational system has been introduced into them damage and hindrance must continue.

On the other hand if we could introduce improvements into our so-called system, it would lead to improvements in our trade and commerce, which as I have just said it is absolutely necessary should be improved as much as possible.

I propose now to take our tables of weights and measures as used by ourselves, the tables which have been dinned into our ears since we first entered school.

The real fact is that we think we have a system of weights and measures, but really we have not got this advantage.

This is no doubt true of the Empire as a whole, which could very well happen when it includes India and Canada, South Africa and Anzac, but, what is infinitely worse, it is true of the British Isles properly so called, which certainly should practice uniformity among themselves.

This seems to be a rather bold statement, and I cannot expect it to be accepted without question. I will take an article of the very first importance: Corn.

In England, corn of all kinds, so far as I know, is measured in bushels, pecks and loads. The price is generally quoted in bushels, and the bushel is a measure of capacity, containing by measurement eight gallons, the gallon itself measuring 277·274 cubic inches. It so happens that a gallon holds exactly 10 pounds of water, so an imperial bushel holds exactly 80 pounds of water, but corn is measured by bulk, not weight, and the bushel contains 2,218·2 cubic inches, a nice convenient number to remember.

It follows that as corn is not measured by bulk, a bushel of grain does not weigh 80 pounds, as grain is considerably lighter than water.

We should naturally expect that the same measure of capacity instead of weight would exist in Ireland, and at first sight this would appear to be true, owing to the fact that Irish farmers measure their wheat, barley, and oats by a measure called a "barrel."

If this were true it would simplify matters; you would merely have to get the size of the "barrel," as compared with the size of the bushel, and your troubles would be at an end.

I thought so myself when I first heard it, but I soon learned that a "barrel" was a weight, not a measure, and, what was perhaps worse, that:—

A barrel of wheat weighed 20 stone of 14 pounds,				280
				pounds.
„	barley	„	16	„ „ 224
				pounds.
„	oats	„	14	„ „ 196
				pounds.

In fact, as you will see at once, not only is the Irish barrel a measure of weight, not capacity, but the barrels of the principal grains differ materially in weight.

The result is that if an Irish farmer consults a newspaper, he gets the London prices per bushel, which is of no assistance to him in estimating the value of his crop estimated by him by its weight.

I am merely giving this instance as typical, there are innumerable other local measures. For instance, in London the stone of 14 pounds is used for the living animal, the stone of eight pounds for the dressed meat.

In Norfolk and Suffolk herrings are measured by the "mease," which means 10,000 herrings by count. In Scotland they are measured by the "Cran," which by way of further confusion is a measure of capacity, amounting to  $37\frac{1}{2}$  bushels, and comprising, on an average, 750 herrings.

Again, eggs, if my memory serves me, are measured not by weight, or even in a round number, but by the "long hundred," which is not a hundred, but 120. It is rather like our "hundred-weight," which is not one hundred pounds, but 112, perhaps the most absurd and misleading of our weights, because it is so often used.

It would, however, take too much time to go into these local peculiarities, their number is really very great, and I have only referred to a few. There is a far more serious difficulty before us, and that is that there is no standard as to the number of small articles or "units" which will make up the next larger size or measure, either in coinage, length, quantity or weight.

This can best be shown by taking some examples and showing the want of system.

Take the coinage:—

2 Farthings	make	a halfpenny.
2 Halfpence	„	a penny.
12 Pence	„	a shilling.
2 Shillings	„	1 florin.
$2\frac{1}{2}$ „	„	1 half-crown.
5 „	„	1 crown.
20 „		
or 4 crowns	„	1 pound.

The measure of length is no better.

12 inches	make	1 foot.
3 feet	„	1 yard.
5½ yards	„	1 perch.
320 perches	„	1 mile (1760 yards).

As to weight, I pass over the fact that there is Troy weight as well as Avoirdupois, and I give only the latter.

16 ounces	make	1 pound.
14 pounds	„	1 stone.
2 stone	„	1 quarter.
4 quarters	„	1 hundredweight (112 lbs.)
20 hundredweight (each 112lbs.)	make	1 ton (2240 pounds).

Now for liquids—

2 Pints	make	1 quart.
4 Quarts	„	1 gallon.
8 Gallons	„	1 bushel.

It is a remarkable fact, for which I cannot account, that our liquid measure is utterly inadequate. Bushels are not used in liquid measure: the gallon is the unit, and this is so small as to be useless for large quantities. It leads one to the idea that the only liquid measures were intended for milk, beer and spirits, and these on a very small scale.

When it comes to measuring large bodies of water, such as a water-reservoir, or the flow of a river, the statement that it amounts to so many gallons gives no idea of the actual quantity; the number of gallons seems enormous, for what the eye teaches us is quite a small quantity. If liquids were measured in cubic yards, or rather cubic metres, with decimals for lower denominations, the table would be far more easily dealt with.

I have thus taken our coinage, our weights and measures, and have shown that there is no uniformity in them.

Hence my remark that we have not got any system. For a system you require some working principle, which will relieve the memory from the necessity for carrying a number of miscellaneous facts or numbers. One of the most difficult things for anyone to do is to remember strings of irregular numbers without confusing them with others something like them.

I might go on with other instances, but it is time to deal with a system I have already referred to, which is known as the decimal system, which is precisely like our numerical system, working always by tens.

The great Napoleon was largely instrumental in introducing this system into Continental Europe; it seems to have

been applied first only to coinage, but it now applies also to weights and measures. I have not investigated whether the decimal system was applied first to coinage, and subsequently to weights and measures, or whether the whole system was put forward at the same time. The fact remains that on the European Continent the decimal system is in general operation for all measures. The two most important exceptions are the British and the United States of America.

I should mention that the United States use decimal coinage, but not decimal weights and measures.

As I have already said, the decimal system in outline is exceedingly simple. Ten is taken as the number of a small denomination required to make up the next higher denomination.

According to this system our coinage would run as follows:—

10 Farthings	would make	1 penny.
10 Pence	„	1 shilling.
10 Shillings	„	1 pound.

I am merely giving an example to illustrate the system of working by multiples of ten, and not considering the present value of the coins.

The French, and most nations of the European Continent, have applied the same decimal system not only to coinage, but to weights and measures, thus getting rid of the necessity for learning elaborate tables.

As a standard of length, the French adopted the length of a pendulum swinging once in a second, which is about 3 feet 3 inches. This they named a “metre,” and it was written *l.*

All other measures of length are multiples or sub-multiples of the metre. For instance, on the descending side a “centimetre” is one-hundredth of a metre; on the ascending side a “kilometre” is 1,000 metres. A kilometre is, therefore, about 1,000 of our yards.

Similarly, they have a standard measure of capacity, called a litre. A litre contains the volume of a cubic decimetre—i.e., the cube of the tenth part of a metre.

As a matter of fact, comparing this with our measure, a litre is equivalent to 1.76172 imperial pints; and as two pints make a quart, and four quarts a gallon, the litre is less than a quarter of a gallon, and is thus a very small unit—to my mind, far too small as a standard.

Our own liquid measure is absolutely our worst system of all. We have nothing above a gallon, and measuring the contents of a reservoir or lake in gallons is simply absurd.



The whole decimal system, whether of coinage, weight or capacity, rests upon the simple fact that it takes 10 of the lower denomination to make one of the next denomination.

This at one fell swoop gets rid of all the elaborate weights and measures to which we have been accustomed; all our elaborate rules for reduction of tons to ounces and miles to inches are swept away. There are no tables to learn.

It may be remarked, as a possible explanation, that the ancient Romans did not possess the decimal system of notation which we possess, and how they performed the operations of multiplying and dividing is somewhat of a mystery. Probably they used the abacus. Let anyone try to multiply in Roman notation, say, *XCVIII.* by *LVI.*, and he will soon find himself in difficulties. As a matter of fact, I believe that the decimal notation originated in India, and spread to Bagdad about the eighth century, and only reached the British Isles a hundred or two hundred years after the Norman Conquest.

I need hardly say that various European nations, particularly the British and French, must have had a fair system of weights, measures and coinage long before *Magna Charta* in 1215. This, to some extent, accounts for the old measures of "hands," breadths," "feet," "cubits." There is no trace of any decimal system in them.

Of course I am by no means the first to take up this decimal system, even in this Society, for I found it had been treated in a paper read before the Society nearly thirty years ago by my friend, ex-Lord Chief Justice Cherry. (*Journal*, vol. ix., p. 2921). I have a copy of the essay, which showed very plainly the immense disadvantages of the existing system.

He did not deal with the system of weights or measures, but only with the coinage. I will summarise his views.

He proposed a new coinage, of which the following is an example:—

10 Farthings (of old value)	were to form	1 Doit.
10 Doits	„	1 Florin.
10 Florins	„	1 Pound.

You will at once see that his system worked upward from a very small unit. It took 100 farthings to make up two shillings, or rather one florin.

According to this system, in many respects excellent, the effect of leaving the farthing unaltered would be to make the "Pound" worth £1 0s. 10d.

This was not the result of accident. The idea was deliberate, and the system was based upon two propositions:

1. That there should be as few changes as possible.

“ 2. That the coins which remained unchanged should be the smaller and not the larger denominations, to quote the author's own words: ‘As the reason for continuing our existing coins is to convenience the poor, it follows that it is these coins and not those of the rich which should remain—the penny is, in this respect, more important than the pound.’”

I quite appreciate the idea, but I cannot say that I concur with it. My view is that we should have the best possible money system for the whole nation, the community as a whole, not the class which has the least of it. Considering that the vast money transactions of the country dealing with £1 or upwards, as compared with those dealt with in farthings, it was, I think, fallacious to make the standard too small. The French franc is notoriously a failure for serious operations, and centimes in practice are unknown. The French halfpenny or sou is written 5. The Americans declare that their dollar is too small, and they do not reckon anything below 5 cents. in small coinage commercial transactions.

My own view is, that the standard should be, say, £1, with decimals under that value.

My reason is that I wish to reckon easily in large amounts. There is little work done in tenths of a penny. The franc is so small that it takes 25 of them to equal our £1. Hence, by a small unit, you have many more lines of addition, subtraction, multiplication and division. A British £5 is expressed in at least three digits in French coinage 125 francs, more if strict accuracy be essential. In America £1 is expressed by two digits, 20 dollars (with the same extension for strict accuracy). An American “millionaire” is the proud possessor of \$1,000,000, equivalent to our fifth of a million dollars, £200,000.

To illustrate my meaning of fewer figures, I will give an illustration.

A man buys, say, 500 articles at 25 francs each, and he works out 12,500 francs as the price.

Using American currency, the 500 articles at 5 dollars would cost \$2,500.

Using British currency, he buys 500 at £1, and it works out at £500.

For long columns of figures the difference between adding in hundreds of thousands, five digits in France, four in America and three in the United Kingdom is considerable.

In all respects but this, I think that Lord Chief Justice Cherry's solution of the metric coinage system a sound one.

I have digressed a little from my main subject to deal with this question of the coinage, and I now go back to the general system of weights and measures.

It is possible that some people may express surprise that the decimal system of weights and measures now in general use, I believe, in Continental Europe, was not adopted universally by the world, like the Hindoo discovery of decimal notation. It is still more peculiar that the two most important commercial and manufacturing countries in the world—the United States and the British Empire—stand apart from the nations who have adopted the metric system in its entirety, not only for money, but for weights and measures.

It certainly appeared to me that the fact that these two great commercial powers, probably the greatest in the world, did not see their way to adopting it, made me hesitate to do so, and also caused considerable doubt in my mind as to whether the metric system of weights and measures was so perfect as it looked.

It led me, in fact, to consider the question whether there might not be some obstacle in actual fact which did not fit in with the system, perfect as it appeared to be in theory.

I have considered it for a long time; it is more than three years since I first tried to account for the fact, and it was only recently that I arrived at a conclusion on the subject. My objection is a very short one.

Briefly and tersely expressed, I find that the standard unit in weights and measures under the decimal system is too small. You have to use too many figures to express anything like a really large number, space, or weight. Instead of large units, such as miles, tons, square miles, by using small units, metres, grammes and litres, you get into numerous digits before there is any necessity. I use the word "digit" for a single figure.

I will explain what I mean by an example:

A British ton is, in round numbers, 1,000 kilograms, and a kilogram is 1,000 grammes, so that we should write that a British ton is 1,000,000 grams.

Similarly, in length, a mile is approximately 1,624 metres, and a sovereign is about 25 francs.

Long strings of digits are to be avoided, as they take time to write, and they are exceedingly difficult to remember accurately. The larger the number of digits or single figures required to express an amount, the greater the probability of a mistake.

This difficulty, it so happens, can be very readily seen when an example of it is taken from our own liquid measure, which, as I have said, is the worst we have:—We are told

that a stream of so many thousand gallons passes an observer in a minute. The number seems enormous, yet it will hardly turn the smallest water-wheel. Again, we are told that a reservoir contains so many million gallons, and it seems enormous. It is only when you find that a single cubic foot of water is equal to about six gallons that we begin to find that the big figures in gallons mean very little in cubic yard capacity.

In other words, the standard is too small; it is like giving the distance from the earth to say the moon in inches.

I will take another instance. French weights are generally given in kilograms, which means 1,000 grams and a kilogram is approximately 2 lbs. avoirdupois.

To my mind, the redeeming features of this system is its adherence to the decimal system, which renders many operations automatic; but owing to the adoption of very small units it is practically hopeless to deal with large quantities. You have too many digits, using that word for single figures.

I have already alluded to the singular fact that the two great Naval Powers have stood aloof from the decimal system in weights and measures, and I attribute it to this adoption of an unworkable small standard in weights and measures. I think there can be no doubt that the one redeeming feature of our complicated system is that our unit for commercial transaction is a comparatively large one. The mile is a fairly good one for large or long distances, the ton is a good measure for large weights. The £1 is a good standard for large sums. All these are readily understood: they act as large standards, and convey a single, large definite idea. I have to except the gallon from this, and I would suggest a cubic metre when we come to measuring our rivers, canals, water supply, drainage works and reservoirs. With a cubic metre as a standard, the results would be comprehensible.

I candidly confess that I gave the matter up, but after a long interval it occurred to me to apply to the Decimal Society, which exists for the purpose of introducing a decimal system of coinage, weights and measures, and I accordingly did so in the following letter:—

Dublin, 3rd February, 1917.

DEAR SIR,

In the year 1914, when I was President of the Statistical Society of Ireland, I had some correspondence with your Society on the Decimal System, as I thought that on the re-establishment of peace there would be an effort to push British manufactures in foreign countries, and I felt that our hopeless chaos of weights and measures were an over-



whelming objection to pushing our sales abroad. You then very kindly sent me some particulars of the Decimal System.

So far as I grasped the system, it appears to me to be highly rational in most respects; but I feel one grave objection, the Unit is far too small.

Take the metre, roughly a yard, and apply it to the distance from Liverpool to New York, roughly 3,000 miles. You are in double figures of KILOMETRES by the time you have travelled six nautical miles, and the distance of 3,000 miles has to be represented by, roughly, 5,400 kilometres.

As regards coinage, I understand that the idea is to make the florin the Unit. Then at the first £1 you are in double figures for addition, etc. In fact, addition and subtraction are evidently more burdensome under the metric system than under the existing chaos. Take, for instance, a ship's tonnage, the number of figures required to express the tonnage of an Atlantic liner of, say, 20,000 tons would be appalling if expressed in kilograms.

It may be that your system has been modified in some way to meet these objections, but I have encountered them in my attempts to popularise the system.

In other words, I have met with objections from several persons, NOT to the decimal system, but to the standard on which the decimal system is based.

Perhaps you could see your way to explaining to me whether my opponent's objection is well founded, particularly as regards coinage.

If it be well-founded, I should like to have suggestions for improvements.

If it be ill-founded, I should like to know what is the fallacy in the argument.

Pray do not think that I desire to be captious. I have only an ordinary average intellect, and the probability is that the general average of the British public are in the same predicament as I am—i.e., of genuine honest doubt.

I am, yours truly,

CHARLES A. STANUELL.

The Secretary of the Decimal Association,  
Finsbury Court, Finsbury Pavement,  
London, E.C.

The following is the reply I received:—

Finsbury Court, Finsbury Pavement,  
London, E.C.

6th February, 1917.

DEAR SIR,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 3rd inst., for which I thank you.



It does not appear to me that the difficulties you mention are very great, as other countries using the metric system do not appear to have found any trouble with the number of figures.

I cannot agree with you that addition and subtraction are more burdensome under the metric system than with our present confusion, as in the former case the sums are in simple arithmetic, and there is no conversion from one unit to another.

In the United States, accounts are always quoted in dollars, however large they may be.

Large weights in the metric system would not be quoted in kilograms, but in "tonnes" of metric tons—i.e., 1,000 kilograms.

One of the reasons why this Association suggested the florin is that it entails the use of only two decimal places in common with other countries. Amounts, however, can be converted into £'s at sight.

I hope that this letter disposes of your difficulties; but, if it does not, I shall be glad to hear from you again.

Yours faithfully,

E. MERRY,

Acting Secretary.

I confess that I did not think that there was any use in continuing the correspondence. It seemed to me to be absolutely clear that my position and that of the Decimal Association could not be reconciled. In other words, my objections were to its use in PRACTICE; the Association were retaining their THEORY without reference to practice, and I let the matter drop.

It was only lately that a singular sentence in the Secretary's reply struck me.

It runs:—"Large weights in the metric system would not be quoted in kilograms, but in 'tonnes' of metric tons—i.e., 1,000 kilograms."

The papers sent to me did not contain any tables of 'tonnes'; the use of these would remove much of the difficulty as regards weight.

There is not, in fact, very much between the Decimal Association and myself. It would appear to be very much a question where the decimal point should be placed. I want a large unit: take the £1 as unit with decimals below it. The Decimal Association want a Florin as unit with decimals below it. The same idea runs through all their weights and measures, an intense keenness for small figures and a neglect of large standards.

My reason for asking for large standards is, that I have

noticed that comparatively few persons can reckon in long series of figures. If a man be offered a choice between a ton of some material and 30,000 ounces of the same material, the chances are he will choose the 30,000 ounces. It looks so much bigger in figures, yet the single ton is far heavier than 30,000 ounces.

My objection to the Decimal System as now proposed is, that it looks more to the small things than to the large. The standards are too small. At present the system is impracticable, but the true system is there; and, personally, I think that a carefully considered decimal system of coins, weights and measures could be devised if practical men and theorists met together.

I believe also that such a system would be an immense advantage in the extension of our trade and commerce; and as I said at the beginning: "We must contemplate the rebuilding of a half-ruined Empire, and to do this we have not only to restore our old business, but to develop it still further."

Copy.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,

EARLSFORT TERRACE, DUBLIN,

9th January, 1917.

DEAR MR. STANUELL,

I am much obliged for the proof of your interesting paper on "Weights and Measures after the War," and regret that I was unable to be present to hear it read.

I am in hearty agreement with your thesis. I think our complicated and cumbersome old system ought to have been swept away long ago—that it has formed, and (unless done away with) will continue to form an almost insuperable barrier to complete commercial intercourse between ourselves and foreign countries.

Unlike you, I do not apprehend any difficulty from the comparative smallness of such units as the florin, metre, gram, &c.

It seems to me to be merely a question of shifting the decimal point. Once we have got accustomed to the new system we shall all be wondering how we ever "put up with" the old one so long.

I would suggest that at the same time the centigrade scale of thermometry be introduced. Of the three existing systems we have—with curious indifference to results—adopted the least convenient, that of Fahrenheit, which is of course, based on a ludicrous error, that of supposing that the lowest possible temperature is that of an ice and salt mixture.

Yours very truly,

C. A. Stanuelli, Esq.

E. J. McWEENEY.

## APPENDIX.

## THE METRIC SYSTEM.

The metric system of weights and measures has four sets of units, one for length, one for surface, one for volume and the fourth for weight. Each of the four sets contains seven units, so there are only 28 units in the system. The four sets are so similar that a knowledge of one explains the others. Let us consider the set for length.

Kilometer	=1000	meters	= 39370	inches	=1093·6	yards	=nearly $\frac{5}{8}$ mile.
Hektometer	= 100	"	= 3937·0	"	=109·36	yards	
Dekameter	= 10	"	= 393·70	"	=10·936	"	nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ chain.
METER	= 1	"	= 39·370	"	=1·0936	"	
Decimeter	= 0·1	"	= 3·9370	"			
Centimeter	= 0·01	"	= ·39370	"	30 centimeters	= 1 foot	nearly.
Millimeter	= 0·001	"	= ·039370	"	25 millimeters	= 1 inch	nearly.

Abbreviations—Kilometer=km, Meter=m, Centimeter=cm, Millimeter=mm.

The meter is seen to be the middle unit of the set, three being greater and three less. By knowing the length of the meter we can easily remember the lengths of the six other units for they are 10, 100 and 1,000 times greater or less than it. The names of these six derived units are formed by the six words put before the name of the middle unit, each word having a proper meaning namely—deka, hekto, kilo, mean 10, 100 and 1,000 times greater, and deci, centi, milli, mean 10, 100 and 1,000 times less. The hektometer and dekameter are very seldom used.

The three other sets are the same as that for length except that each has a different middle unit.

The middle unit of surface is the "ar" (=100 square meters), but of this set only the hektar (=2·471 acres), is in common use.

The middle unit of volume is the liter (=1 cubic decimeter=nearly  $1\frac{3}{4}$  pints). In this set the hektoliter (=22 gallons) and the liter alone are common. For larger volumes, as in the case of firewood, a middle unit called the "ster" (=1 cubic meter) is sometimes used. Capacity and bulk are merely different names for volume.

The "gram" (=15·4323 grains) is the middle unit of weight. The other common units of this set are the kilogram (kg), the centigram (cg), and the milligram (mg). A thousand kilograms are called the metric ton and it is nearly the English ton.

An admirable feature of the metric system is the connection between weight and length, the kilogram of water being equal in volume to the cubic decimeter or liter, consequently the cubic centimeter (cc) of water weighs a gram, the cubic millimeter a milligram, and the cubic meter a ton.

The meter is nearly 10 per cent. longer than the yard and the kilogram 10 per cent. heavier than two pounds.

The reader can understand that the metric system abolishes compound arithmetic through counting by tens, and requires for its 28 units only 10 words, viz.: meter, ar, liter and gram, as neutral units and deci, centi, milli, deka, hekto, kilo, for forming derivatives.

The scheme was designed to be different from any then in use among foreign nations and so to avoid international jealousy.

The shortest distance on the earth's surface from pole to equator is 10,000,000 meters = 10,000 kilometers.

*Proceedings of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of  
Ireland.*

SIXTY-NINTH SESSION—1915–1916.

FIRST MEETING.

[19th November, 1915.]

The Society met on the above date at 93 St. Stephen's Green, at 8.15 p.m. The President in the Chair.

A paper was read by the President on "The Example of Belgium—a Possible Effect of the War upon Ireland."

A vote of thanks to the President was proposed by Rev. T. A. Finlay, seconded by Professor C. H. Oldham, and carried unanimously.

SECOND MEETING.

[17th December, 1915.]

The Society met on the above date at the Engineers' Hall, Dawson Street, at 8.15 p.m. The President in the Chair.

Mr. S. Shannon Millin read a paper on "Child Life as a National Asset."

A discussion followed, in which the Rt. Hon. Lord Justice Molony, Dr. White, Rev. R. M. Gwynn, Dr. Cox, Rev. J. Denham Osborne, and Miss Buchanan took part.

THIRD MEETING.

[4th February, 1916.]

The Society met on the above date at 93 St. Stephen's Green at 8.15 p.m. The Rev. T. A. Finlay, M.A., in the Chair.

A paper was read by Professor C. H. Oldham on "British Finance of the War."

A discussion followed, in which Messrs. W. Lawson, Sparkall Brown, Newman Thompson, F. L. Leet, and Lloyd Christian took part. The following were elected members of the Society :—Sparkall Brown, B.A.; Arthur Williamson, M.A.; and William Hearn, LL.D.

#### FOURTH MEETING.

[2nd June, 1916.]

The Society met on the above date at 93 St. Stephen's Green, at 8.15 p.m. The President in the Chair.

A paper was read by Mr. Arthur Williamson, on "Post War Functions of Commercial Education."

A discussion followed in which Mr. Newman Thompson, Mr. Sparkall Brown, Sir W. Thompson, and Mr. D. S. Doyle took part.

The meeting then proceeded to the election of President, Officers, and Council, for the ensuing session.

On the proposal of Professor Oldham, seconded by Sir W. Thompson, Mr. William Lawson was elected President.

On the proposal of Mr. Chart, Mr. D. S. Doyle was elected Hon. Treasurer, and Mr. Herbert Wood, and Dr. N. M. Falkiner, Hon. Secretaries.

The following were elected to serve on the Council for the ensuing session :—Anderson, R. A.; Bowen, H. C.; Chart, D. A.; Drennan, J. T.; Gwynn, Rev. R. M., F.T.C.D.; McWeeney, E. J., M.D.; Millin, S. Shannon; O'Connell, Sir J. R., LL.D.; Shanahan, Geo. E.; Smith, Louis S.; Thompson, Newman; Whewell, Major A.

#### SEVENTIETH SESSION, 1916-17.

##### FIRST MEETING.

[24th November, 1916]

The Society met at 93 St. Stephen's Green on the above date, at 8.15 p.m. The President, Mr. William Lawson, LL.D. in the Chair.

The President read his inaugural address, entitled :—"Social Problems and the War."

On the motion of the Rev. T. A. Finlay, seconded by Mr. D. A. Chart, a vote of thanks was passed to the President for his address.



## SECOND MEETING.

[15th December, 1916.]

The Society met at 93 St. Stephen's Green on the above date, at 8.15 p.m. The President in the Chair.

Mr. Lionel Smith-Gordon was elected a member of the Society.

Mr. Lionel Smith-Gordon read a paper on "The Urban Co-operative Movement in the United Kingdom."

A discussion followed in which the President, Professor Oldham, Messrs. Eason and Sparkall Brown took part.

## THIRD MEETING.

[19th January, 1917.]

The Society met at 93 St. Stephen's Green on the above date at 8.15 p.m. The President in the Chair.

A paper was read by Professor C. H. Oldham on "Industrial Ireland under Free Trade."

A discussion followed, in which the President, Mr. H. C. Bowen, Sir W. Thompson, and Mr. Sparkall Brown took part.

## FOURTH MEETING.

[23rd February, 1917.]

The Society met at 93 St. Stephen's Green on the above date at 8.15 p.m. The President in the Chair.

A paper was read by Mr. F. W. Ryan on "The Preparation of National School Pupils for Technical Training and Industrial Life."

A discussion followed, in which the President, Sir W. Thompson, Professor C. H. Oldham, and Messrs. Smurthwaite, Doyle, and O'Neill took part.

## FIFTH MEETING.

[27th April, 1917.]

The Society met at 93 St. Stephen's Green on the above date at 8.15 p.m. The President in the Chair.

It was proposed by the President, seconded by Sir W. Thompson, and carried unanimously:—"That this Society

desires to put on record the great loss it has sustained by the deaths of the Right Hon. William F. Bailey, C.B., and Mr. Charles Dawson, and to tender its deep sympathy to their relatives in their bereavement."

A paper was read by Sir John R. O'Connell on "The Foundations of Colonial Self-Government."

A discussion followed in which the President, Professor C. H. Oldham, and Messrs. S. Shannon Millin, H. C. Bowen, and D. Coffey took part.

## SIXTH MEETING.

[8th June, 1917.]

The Society met at 93 St. Stephen's Green on the above date at 8.15 p.m. The President in the Chair.

Mr. William Lawson was re-elected President, and Mr. D. S. Doyle, Hon Treasurer. Messrs. N. Falkiner, M.D., and Herbert Wood were re-elected Hon. Secretaries.

The following were elected members of the Council :—Anderson, R. A. ; Bowen, H.C. ; Brown, Sparkall ; Chart, D. A. ; Dawson, William R. ; Drennan, J. T. ; McWeeney, E. J. ; Shannon Millin, S. ; O'Connell, Sir John R. ; Shanahan Geo. E. ; Thompson, Newman ; and Whewell, Major A.

A paper was read by Mr. Chas. A. Stanuall on "Weights and Measures after the War."

A discussion followed in which Messrs. Thompson, Sparkall Brown, Professor Oldham, Messrs. Wood, and Brady Murray took part.

J. W. Brady Murray, Barrister-at-Law, proposed by the President and seconded by Mr. H. Wood, was elected a member of the Society.



## OBJECTS OF THE SOCIETY.

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THE objects of the Society are the promotion of the study of Statistics, Jurisprudence, and Social and Economic Science. The Meetings are held in each month, from November to June, inclusive, and the business of the Society transacted thereat consists of the reading of papers on the above subjects and of the discussion of the same. The papers are afterwards published in such form as the Council may approve.

No communication is read unless the Secretaries, or two of them, certify that they consider it in accordance with the rules and objects of the Society. The Society does not accept any responsibility for any opinion, representation of fact, or train of reasoning in a paper. The author is alone responsible. The reading of each paper, unless by express permission of the Council previously obtained, is limited to *half an hour*

All communications should be addressed to the *Honorary Secretaries*.

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